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OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE

OF

DENMARK,

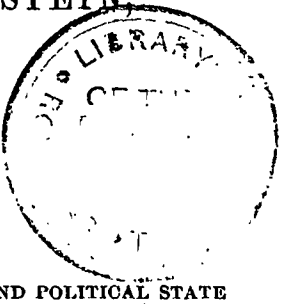
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AND THE DUCHIES OF

SLESWICK AND HOLSTEIN,

IN

1851:



BEING THE THIRD SERIES OF

THE NOTES OF A TRAVELLER ON THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE OF THE EUROPEAN PEOPLE.

AA: 9-4

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THE FIRST AND SECOND SERIES OF "NOTES OF A TRAVELLER,"
A "JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE IN NORWAY," A "TOUR IN SWEDEN,"
A "TRANSLATION OF THE HEIMSKRINGLA," ETC.

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PREFACE.

DENMARK is a country peculiarly interesting to the English traveller. It was the home of his forefathers. The three tribes who invaded England in the fifth century, the Juti, Angli, and Frisi of the venerable Bede, came unquestionably from the districts of Denmark still called Jutland, Angeln, and Friesland on the Eyder. They were unquestionably a seafaring people who, although pagan, had made such progress in civilisation and the useful arts, as to build, rig out, victual, and navigate vessels of considerable size, and consequently could be no strangers to the use of iron, the trades and tools of the blacksmith, carpenter, weaver, and the co-operation of various workmen required for the construction of ships, however rude, that could cross the ocean. They had advanced beyond the social state and civilisation of hunters, shepherds, or even mere husbandmen. Whether he favours the theory of a German origin of this people, or of a Scandinavian distinct from the German, whether he calls them Anglo-Saxons or Scandinavians, he must come to the conclusion, from the historical fact of the invasion itself, that, in the fifth century, they were in a very different social state and stage of civilisation from the inland inhabitants

of Germany, who had no access to, or pursuits on, the ocean, and who, in their ordinary way of living, had no occasion or opportunity to acquire and exercise the numerous arts and trades connected with ship-building and navigation, even in the most rude and imperfect forms. Their habits, character, and social state could not have been the same as those of the German people, because the circumstances which form these were naturally and essentially different. It is but a play of words to talk of them as the same people, because the name of Saxons was at a later period annexed to one of the three tribes of the invaders. These Juti, Angli, and Frisi, moreover, had never been subject to the Roman Empire, nor in direct communication with countries subject to it. They were pagans for five centuries after the whole Roman world had been Christianised, and continued pagans in their original homes five centuries after their descendants in England, and all the German populations, had embraced the Christian faith and church establishments, for they remained pagans until the close of the tenth century. Charlemagne and his successors occasionally crossed the Elbe with large armies, and penetrated beyond the Eyder to chastise or convert the pagan inhabitants, but made no permanent conquests or settlements beyond that boundary. The English traveller is almost entitled, from these circumstances, to expect, in this country of his forefathers, that some traces of the spirit, energy, and character which so remarkably distinguish the people of England and of the United States from the people of Germany at the present day, may

still be observable in the mind and social institutions of the inhabitants of the original seat of the people who invaded and conquered England in the fifth century, and who, in the tenth, infused fresh blood from the same stock into the English population, by the conquests of Northumberland, and at last of the whole kingdom of England by Swein and Canute the Great. With these expectations, the author of the following observations visited Denmark, and the duchies of Holstein and Sleswick a few months after the successful struggle of this small nation to maintain its independence, nationality, and ancient territories, against the whole power of the German empire of forty millions of people. The result proved that this handful of people, not exceeding a million and a half in numbers, had not degenerated from the bravery, perseverance, and spirit of their ancestors, and were still, in mind and character, similar and equal to the descendants of the same stock in England and America. He came with a sufficient knowledge of the languages, the Danish and German, to gather information himself, and in these Notes he gives the impressions he received on a variety of subjects. He does not present them to his readers as opinions to be adopted on his authority, but merely as suggestions to be considered in forming their own opinions. Many of the subjects he touches upon belong to the social polity of our own country and of the continent, as much as to that of Denmark; for the use of travelling is to compare what we see abroad with what we have at home, and to furnish data from which the reader may form his

own judgment of the social state of countries which he has not leisure or opportunity to visit himself. In the literary world the traveller can claim no very high place. He is, at best, to the reflecting and philosophic reader, only what the bricklayer's labourer is to the architect. It is his vocation to gather the rough materials which the artist examines, assorts, polishes, and builds up into a fabric representing the spirit and character of the age and country. The author makes no apology for frequent repetitions, inconsistencies, and contradictions in his work. He gives his impressions as they arise, and the subject, or train of thought from which they arise, and having no theory or system to support, if they are different to-day from what they were yesterday, he has the traveller's excuse that he came to them by a different road, and has seen the black side of the shield as well as the white. He has done his duty as a writer of travels, if he has suggested important subjects for reflection and consideration to his readers.

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NOTES

ON

DENMARK AND THE DUCHIES.

CHAPTER I.

THE PENINSULA BETWEEN THE NORTH SEA AND THE BALTIC. — ITS PHYSICAL IMPORTANCE. — ITS SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL INTEREST. — JUTI, ANGLI, FRISI — THE THREE TRIBES STILL UNAMALGAMATED WITH EACH OTHER. — THE GERMAN PEOPLE NEVER AMALGAMATED, OR NATIONALISED. — CAUSES OF THIS WANT OF NATIONALITY — NO WANT OF EACH OTHER FELT — NO PRODUCTS OF EXCHANGE BETWEEN DIFFERENT DISTRICTS OF GERMANY — NO COMMON LANGUAGE BETWEEN THE UPPER AND LOWER CLASSES. — PLATT DEUTSCH. — CULTIVATED GERMAN. — ALTONA TO KIEL. — APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY. — DECAY OF VEGETATIVE POWER NOT ACCOUNTED FOR. — KIEL. — MY NOTES.

THE long peninsula which separates the Baltic from the Northern Ocean — extending about 300 miles from Altona on the Elbe to the Scaw Point at the entrance of the Cattegat — is less visited by travellers than any tract of land of the same extent on the continent of Europe. It is not a thoroughfare to any other countries. The usual route to Copenhagen or Stockholm is either by sea from Lubeck or Kiel, or across the ferries of the Small and Great Belt to the Danish islands Als, Fyen, and Sealand; and it is but a small part of Holstein and Sleswick that either route passes over. This peninsula has no harbours

on its ocean-coast for vessels of any considerable burden, has no trade of importance, no manufactures, and no natural products of value in the world's great markets, no grand or interesting scenery, no celebrated works of art; nothing, in short, to attract the commercial traveller, to excite the curiosity of the naturalist, or to gratify the taste of the artist and the feelings of the romantic wanderer in foreign lands. It stands on our travelling maps of the Continent a kind of terra incognita, marked with a few lines denoting small rivers, and some questionable roads, and dotted with petty towns rejoicing in names unheard of in history; and, owing to strange combinations of double vowels, looking to the English eye awfully unpronounceable. The traveller sees nothing to induce him to visit so unpromising a land.

Yet this peninsula is no silent unsuggestive desert to the reflecting traveller; it is no blank either in the natural or the social history of Europe. It is one of the most remarkable and important physical and geographical features of the land of our Continent. This peninsula is a vast bank of sand, gravel, water-worn stones, and transported rounded blocks of granite, of all sizes, covered with a bed of clay and vegetable earth; and has been formed, or thrown up, by the ocean, and defends now from its fury a large portion of the north of Europe. The northern Mediterranean consists of two basins — the Cattegat and the Baltic — connected by a narrow channel at Copenhagen called the Sound, as the Black Sea and the southern Mediterranean are, by a remarkably similar conformation but on a greater scale, at Constantinople. But the true Sound is the entrance into the

Cattegat from the ocean, between the extreme point of this sand-bank, called the Scaw or Scaggerack, and the granitic ground-rock of the great Scandinavian peninsula at Gottenburg on the Swedish coast. If this sandbank were washed away by the same power that raised it—and within the last forty years a large portion of the north end of it has become an island, and a new entrance into the Baltic has been forced by the North Sea through the Lymfiord—the North of Europe would, to a great extent, be again under the waters of one vast northern ocean.

The reader of history, as well as the physical geographer, may find much to reflect upon in this unregarded tract of land. Here was the home of the three tribes, the Juti, Angli, and Frisi, who, according to the Venerable Bede, and all the traditionary history of the fifth century, invaded England about forty years after the Romans had finally abandoned the island, and established seven or rather eight little independent kingdoms, exterminating the original British inhabitants, or, what is more natural and probable, becoming insensibly amalgamated with them, and driving into Wales the remnant they could not subdue. There is much obscurity in this portion of English history. Hengist and Horsa — the stallion and the mare — may have been the names of the leaders of the first expedition, or possibly only the names of the vessels they commanded. Angeln may have been merely the name of a very small district still called Angeln, which had served as the rendezvous, and the wharf of embarkation, for a multitude of adventurers from the Danish islands, and other countries, and who would naturally be called Angli because they sailed from this district, and probably

spoke the same dialect as its inhabitants. Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet, may have been merely assumed by tradition as their first landing-place, because, thereabout, also, the Romans landed on their first expeditions; and the two traditions may have become blended together. The detail of this part of Anglo-Saxon history rests entirely upon traditions collected in Kent for the Venerable Bede, as he tells us, by certain monks of his acquaintance. But the "Historia Ecclesiastica" of Bede was written about the year 731, and the first expedition under Hengist and Horsa took place in the year 449. Three hundred years, nearly, had elapsed between the events and the time when the traditions of them were collected, and transmitted orally, or by letters, to Bede, and by him committed to writing, and formed into history, in his cloister at Bishopwearmouth, four hundred miles distant from where the traditions were circulating, and preserved. Of what historical value are such traditions after the lapse of two or three hundred years? How much of the events of the reign of Edward VI. or of Queen Mary's, or Elizabeth's, could be collected by a clergyman, in Kent or Middlesex, from the traditions now circulating among the people? The main facts only of such traditions can be received as genuine history. These, however, as delivered by the Venerable Bede, are clear, consistent, and important, and, when we consider the chaos of traditions out of which he must have laboured to collect and unite a consistent and probable account of events which took place nearly three hundred years before his time, we must admire the judgment and industry of the father of English history. The main facts are, that from this penin-

sula, north of the Elbe, came the people who, about the middle of the fifth century, invaded England; that they came in three tribes, Angli, Frisi, and Juti; that, although of one race, they were in language, laws, and customs so distinct from each other, that they conquered separately, settled separately, and formed distinct and separate kingdoms in England, often, or rather always, at war with each other, and each with usages, establishments, and a nationality of its own, and that they were in this social state when Bede wrote his "Historia Ecclesiastica." They were not amalgamated into one nation until more than a century after his time.

It is remarkable that the three tribes, with their distinct usages, languages, and idiosyncracies, still exist separately, and unamalgamated, in their original homes in this peninsula. The Jutlanders speak their own Danish dialect, live apart, and are physically and socially a different tribe of people from the Angli, or inhabitants of the south of Sleswick, and of Holstein, who speak the Platt Deutsch. The Frisians, who occupy the islands and west coast of the peninsula, from the Eyder to the Elbe, are a distinct people in dialect, customs, and all that distinguishes tribe from tribe, from either of the other two. The three tribes dwell now in the homes of their forefathers, in the same order in which they are described by Bede, viz., the Angli, or Germanic people, between the Juti and the Frisi.

It is very remarkable that in all countries, excepting Germany, the progress of civilisation has been marked by the progress of nationality. France, England, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, as they emerged from barbarism, gradually amalgamated,

and consolidated into one nation, all the little independent or half-independent sovereignties, states, and tribes which occupied the land. The heptarchy established by the three tribes in England became very soon one nation, imbued with a common national spirit, and were more nationalised in the course of three centuries, in England, than the three tribes from which they sprang are now, in their own country, in the nineteenth century. In France the different kingdoms, lordships, or provinces, with different laws, usages, and languages, into which the country was divided after the age of Charlemagne, became gradually amalgamated and nationalised, and the inhabitants became one nation, even when laws, languages, and usages were still distinct. The tendency of civilisation has always been towards nationality, towards common feelings, common interests, in every country, even where the people have neither had a common language and law, nor a common religion and common rights. Germany is the only exception. It is still, in the nineteenth century, in the same state with regard to the nationality of the German people, in which it was in the first century. It is still, as described by Tacitus, a country inhabited by thirty-six or thirty-eight tribes, speaking a common language, of one race, and capable of uniting and acting together as one nation to repel a common foe, but falling asunder when the emergency that called them out is past, and each living for itself, with its own local government, laws, and usages. It is still a country divided into about the same number of social divisions or states, as described by Tacitus, and in nearly the same localities, and with the same social character. The great united effort of the

German people, in 1813, to drive the French across the Rhine, was but a repetition of the great united effort of the German people against the Roman invaders of their country. The success was the same, and the result was the same. Varus was defeated, and each tribe returned to its own isolated, social state. Napoleon was defeated, and each of the thirty-six semi-independent states of Germany started up again in its own locality. In 1848 we have witnessed another great effort of the German people to unite, and make themselves one nation. It has failed. The great mass of the German people seemed not to want a nationality. The enlightened, the educated, the youth, and the teachers of the youth, the professors, students, literary men, idle men, speculative men, clergy, lawyers, functionaries, newspaper editors, all these classes were enthusiastic for the creation of one united German nation, with one common government and law, extending from the Rhine to the Vistula, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, comprehending forty millions of people, and taking her seat among nations, with armies, fleets, finances, and the political influence due to the civilisation and power of this one united Germany. But the forty millions, although worked upon incessantly, since 1816, at schools and universities, from the pulpit and from the stage, in prose and verse, in clubs, in secret societies, in musical meetings, and by the power of the press wielded by the most influential individuals, and by writers of the highest talent and reputation, could not, somehow, be nationalised, could not be brought to sympathise with the agitation of the classes so enthusiastic for a new German nationality. Men and money to support the cause were not

forthcoming, when the war against the Danes had exhausted the military resources of the government of the forty millions of the new Germany. The war itself was a proof that the German mind, so expansive in philosophy, so capable of generalising, and deducing noble and comprehensive theories from small, isolated facts, is, in practical affairs, incapable of getting out of the narrow chalk-circle in which it lives; for this great national war of forty millions of people, of which so much was said and sung, was unworthy of the importance given to it by the German politicians. Forty millions of people against one-and-a-half million, and for the petty country of Sleswick, of some three hundred thousand inhabitants, was not a war in which either honour, or profit, could be acquired for a great empire, by any success.

How can we account for this inaptitude in German character, not only now, but in all the past history of Germany, to be moved by a common spirit, to have a common feeling, and common interest, and common country, — to be, in a word, nationalised? The historian may refer to the chain of political events which have in every age since the fall of the Roman empire arrayed German against German, to the wars and feuds of dynasty against dynasty, to the anarchy of cities, and petty barons independent, and jealous of each other, and always in arms to avenge private injuries, and insensible of great public wrongs, but the social philosopher will look for some natural rather than political causes for the solution of the problem. A great country could not, through a period of nineteen hundred years, continue to exhibit the same phase in her social existence from merely temporary or conventional circumstances. There must

be permanent and irremedial circumstances which control and counteract the natural tendency of civilised people to become nationalised in proportion to their civilisation.

The tie which binds together the individuals of a community into a nation animated with a common spirit of patriotism and love of their country, its laws, institutions, independence, and honour, is their need and aid of each other in their daily life. It is the same tie, or principle, on a greater scale, as that which binds together the members of a family, a clan of kinsmen, the crew of a vessel, the soldiers of a regiment. The individuals could scarcely exist individually. A common language, law, religion, government, literature, may be powerful means for promoting and strengthening the nationality of a people, but cannot produce it, if the people are not knit together by their mutual interests, by their need and aid of each other. Apply this observation to the most nationalised countries in the civilised world, and it will be found correct. England is not nationalised by means of a common language, law, government, religion, literature, spread over her population. The United States of America have these, government excepted, in common with England, yet have a nationality of their own distinct from, and even opposed to that of England. The English people are nationalised or imbued with a common spirit, a common love of country, a common patriotism, because they need and aid each other; one part of the country, or one group of the inhabitants, could not exist without the others. Kent could not exist without the coal, the iron, the manufactures of the north of England, nor the north without the products, capital, and markets of the

south. They need, and aid each other. Free intercourse, and free trade within the country, a domestic trade in general unshackled by corporation-privileges, or monopolies, have, in the course of ages, raised up the most intimate social connexion between the individuals in the community, as well as those material ties between distant districts, and have nationalised the whole in proportion to the progress of industry and civilisation. The same observation is applicable to France. The population of the north could not exist, in their ordinary habitual way of living, without the products, the wines, fruits, silks, and the markets of the south, nor the population of the south without the products, the woollen, cotton, linen, iron manufactures, and the markets of the north. They mutually need, and aid each other. The United States of America are nationalised by the same principle of mutual need and aid. The slave-holding states of the south could not exist without the commerce, capital, and industry of the northern States, nor the northern without the products, the cotton, tobacco, and the markets of the southern States. These States are all firmly nationalised by their mutual dependence on each other, and by the social relations produced by the daily and hourly intercourse, and interchange of industry for industry, products for products. Common language, law, and government are effects not causes of nationality. Apply this observation to Germany, and we discover why the German people, although of one race and, to a certain extent, of one language, never were, and never can be nationalised, or embued with a common patriotism. The country between the Rhine and the Vistula, the Baltic and the Adriatic, which

in 1848 was claimed by the Frankfort Parliament as the dominion of one great nation of German race and tongue, and in numbers stated to be forty millions, is so bountifully provided for by nature, and so equally provided for in all that man uses for his subsistence in a civilised and even luxurious way, that no district requires the aid of any other district, or the interchange of the products of its soil, or its industry, for those of any other district, in order to support its inhabitants. From the shores of the Baltic to the banks of the lake of Constance, rye, wheat, barley, flax, sheep, cattle, wood for fuel and house-building, and all the other primary necessaries of life, are produced in each district in sufficient abundance for its own consumption. It could exist, if all the rest of Germany were submerged five fathom beneath the sea. Nay, every agricultural family in the district, — and the forty millions are chiefly an agricultural population, — stands in the same isolated, unconnected, social condition, producing all it consumes, making its own clothing, preparing its own fuel, and scarcely requiring to exchange industry for industry, even with the smith, the carpenter, the baker, the butcher, or shopkeeper, living in short in juxtaposition, rather than in social relation, with any other family. What is there to form a nation of, to raise a national spirit from, to connect distant self-sufficing districts into a national whole? The very bounty of Nature to Germany prevents a German nationality. The people have no want of each other, no dealings with each other on which they mutually depend, are not necessary to each other.

Above the great mass of forty millions of people,

said to be of one race and tongue in the "New Germany," a numerous class of literary men, professors, students, lawyers, functionaries, men of eminent talents, and an almost fanatic zeal for a German nationality, which they have been inculcating, since 1813, into the great passive mass, comes forward to represent Germany to the European public through the press. It may be allowed to doubt whether they do represent the opinions or feelings of the great body of the German people, or only those of their own numerous and educated class. There is a great obstacle, peculiar to Germany, to any real unity or common spirit, or even knowledge of each other, between the higher educated class and the great body, the forty millions, whom this higher class take it upon themselves to represent in the newspapers and make appearance for to the rest of Europe, viz., that the two classes speak and think in different languages. The cultivated German language, the language of German literature, is not the language of the common man, nor even of the man far up in the middle ranks of society, the farmer, tradesman, shop-keeper. The Platt Deutsch is the language in which the great mass of the people of Germany think and speak, and which, in one or other of its numerous local dialects, is alone intelligible to them as their native tongue. It is a deception to speak of the German people as of one race and tongue. The Platt Deutsch is not a mere dialect of the cultivated German language used by the upper educated class, and differing only in pronunciation and in the use of old obsolete words and local phrases, as the provincial dialects of French or English differ from the mother tongue. It is a different language in its formation, its structure,

and all that the most eminent German philologists, Schlegel, Bopp, and Grimm, lay down as the essential distinctions between language and language. The roots of the words may be the same in the most distinct languages. They are the same in Dutch, English, Danish, German, and Greek, and even in Sanscrit; but the structure of the languages formed out of those roots common to all, is different in each, and none differ more in structure from each other than the Platt Deutsch from the cultivated German. The Platt Deutsch has no genders indicated by various terminations of the article, no cases or tenses denoted by varied terminations of the noun or verb, or inflexions of them; but, as in English, by the prepositions and auxiliary verb. The construction of the sentence, which is the order of our ideas in thinking, is different in the two languages, the Platt Deutsch and the German. The Platt Deutsch does not separate the participle from the auxiliary verb, or the preposition from the connected verb, and place them, as in German or Latin, at the end of the sentence. This Latin formation of the sentence is unknown in Platt Deutsch, which, in its formation and usage, has much more affinity to the English, Dutch, or Danish, than to the cultivated German. The man born and bred in the Platt Deutsch tongue has to translate his thoughts into German when he comes into communication with the upper educated class. With us, the London shop-boy reads, understands, and enters into common feeling with Burns, or the Scotch plough-boy with Dickens, because, however strange and unknown to him the words, the structure of the language is the same as that in which he thinks, and he only wants a glossary, not a grammar, to understand

the meaning of the author. The communication of ideas between the Platt Deutsch common man and one of the educated class in Germany is very different. Each has to acquire a new language, in the construction of which he is not accustomed to think and speak. Arndt, the author of the popular song "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland," tells us in his memoirs that to him German was an acquired language, as he spoke only Platt Deutsch in his youth. The Platt Deutsch itself is divided into numerous dialects, each district having one of its own, scarcely intelligible to its neighbours. This evil has been increased and strengthened in modern times by the passport system and military landwehr system, which prevent the intercourse and free circulation of the people of different districts, and their amalgamation into one nation with a common dialect. The Platt Deutsch of Alsace, Bavaria, Prussia on the Rhine, of the Tyrol, of the canton Bern, is not intelligible to the Platt Deutsch man of Pomerania, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Sleswick, or Hanover, and several of these districts use dialects not intelligible to each other. A line drawn from Coblenz to Stettin would divide two branches of the Platt Deutsch speaking people scarcely intelligible to each other, and each branch subdivided into local dialects understood with difficulty beyond their own localities. When the German press, and the literary men who wield it in favour of their own speculations and theories, speak of a German people of forty millions, using a common language, animated by a common national spirit, and ready to sacrifice life and fortune to raise a common central government for their common "Vaterland," they are deceiving themselves and

the European public. The very first elements of such a common national spirit and union are wanting among the mass of the people inhabiting Germany,—mutual want of each other, common interests, common language and religion, common history in past times. The great mass of the population never had a common country in their feelings or prejudices. They were, and are, Austrians, Bavarians, Prussians, Saxons, and any wider extension of country is, to the mass, a vision, not a reality. The whole history of the German race, from the days of Tacitus to the present hour, shows that it is but an illusion to speak of Germany as one country, one "Vaterland," inhabited by one nation, with common interests and feelings, and only disjoined by dynastic arrangements. The very disjunction through a period of nineteen hundred years proves that there is no root of nationality, and that natural causes prevent a nationality in Germany as one state, or country, governed by one central power. In countries truly nationalised, as in France, England, Spain, the spirit of nationality is most intense in the lowest classes of the community. The soldiers, the sailors, the ignorant, the mob, understand and are imbued with love of country. In Germany it is the reverse. The higher educated classes have written and read themselves into an ideal nationality, and a sentiment unknown to the mass of the people. The fire only burns in the garret-rooms.

Kiel, 1851. From Altona to Kiel the traveller goes by the railway in the happy ignorance of all railway travellers of the shape, roads, or local circumstances of the country he is whirling over. He can only judge from the absence of tunnels, or deep

excavations, that the land is pretty level, and he can see that the soil, except on the skirts of the Elbe and of the Baltic, is very poor; and on the back of the peninsula is a barren thin scurf of peat-earth, which scarcely covers the sand and shingle, and the heath upon it is of dwarfish, stinted growth. In the depressions of the ground, which in general is not above 300 feet above the sea level (the highest point on the back of the peninsula is but 550 feet above the sea), peat mosses of some depth yield peat for fuel, and are full of roots and trunks of large trees, apparently oaks and elms or beech, buried in the moss. Why do not such trees grow now, where, undeniably, the land in former times has been covered with forests? Not a tree is to be seen now, even in the distant horizon, yet two feet below the surface of the barren waste, are branches, trunks, and roots of trees of great size. Want of shelter for young trees on the bare back of the peninsula, exposed to, and swept by, every wind, is not a satisfactory answer. The original forest must once have been young, and must have grown here with no other shelter at first than what the shape of the land affords. If other trees or forests were the shelter, what took that shelter away? The Romans never felled a tree north of the Elbe. It is to the cutting down of the great Caledonian forest by the Romans that the patriotic Scotchman is fond of attributing the bare hills, treeless wastes, and black peat-mosses, which adorn his native land. But no conquering army ever had cause or leisure to clear this country, and cut down the trees on two or three hundred miles of forest land in this peninsula. If partially cut down, why have they not sprung up again and

covered the land as before? Alteration in the climate is no satisfactory answer. The state of the embedded trunks, with the wood still sound in the heart, indicates no such remote time as any of the geological periods, in which a different climate, a different shape of the land, and a different animal and vegetable existence may have prevailed in the northern hemisphere. It appears more like the effect of some law of decay of vegetative power in some localities; a law with which science is not yet acquainted, and which extends, apparently, to animal as well as vegetable life. We wonder at the remains, in our museums, of the huge mastodon and of the saurian tribes of animals now extinct; but the conditions of climate and food being altered, either gradually or by sudden, now unknown, convulsion, we can see or imagine a very sufficient cause for the extinction of those races of animals, and their disappearance from the face of the earth. But in the museums in which the fossil remains of extinct animals are scientifically arranged, the true wonder to every reflecting mind is, that animals differing but very little from existing species, yet undoubtedly differing in some very minute peculiarity, should have become extinct? Why, for instance, a variety of the horse, the rabbit, the rat, should have become extinct while all the conditions for its existence and continuance on the earth must have been the same, and in common with the variety which has come down to us? The two, the extinct and the living variety, have evidently lived together and under the same conditions of existence, their remains being found mingled with each other. We can see, or imagine, a cause in an altered temperature, why remains of trees or plants, found only in tropical

climates, have disappeared, and are now only found in a fossil state in the northern regions of our globe; but we cannot see why trees, and almost all vegetation, have disappeared from ground on which they formerly flourished, and where the same climate and soil still produce the same kind of trees and vegetation on other ground in the neighbourhood. It would be charity to us unscientific travellers, if the geologist, who has so many floods and oceans with drifting icebergs to spare, would bestow upon us an inundation of peat earth floating in a stream which has overflowed all the districts and regions of the north, in which nothing but heath will now grow, and has overthrown and submerged all the forests and all the forest soils which once covered them. There is in the science of geology nothing so handy as a flood to account for all phenomena on the face of the earth. The only difficulty with those geological floods, is how to get them and how to get rid of them; for if they add to or diminish the bulk, weight, or gravitation of our planet towards the sun and the other celestial bodies, which floods, that is, accumulations of matter in a fluid state, of such enormous depth as to float ice-fields over our continents, would be very apt to do, we would have the astronomer royal from Greenwich about our ears for altering the planet's revolutions and his true time.

On the barren heathy back of the peninsula, houses and villages are few and far between; yet there are more people employed than one would expect. The cutting, drying, and carrying of peats is a very considerable branch of industry; and it is not merely each family producing what it consumes of fuel, but is a branch of industry bringing money to the

labourer and to the proprietor. Every family in Hamburgh and Altona lays in several waggon loads of peats, or buys them in the market daily or weekly, as we buy coals. Peats are much cheaper fuel than wood; and where iron stoves are used, peats, containing less sulphur than coal, give a more agreeable heat.

On approaching Kiel the scene changes; and although there is very little difference of elevation above the sea-level, there is the difference of a much better soil. We are in a country of small fields, enclosed by hedges and rising into gentle elevations of ground cultivated to the summits, or crowned with groves of magnificent beech, elm, oak, and lime trees (none of the fir tribe are to be seen); and in the bottoms in which the slopes meet, is generally a small quiet lake reflecting the peasant's house on the bank, or a peat moss, evidently once a lake, on which the farmer is mowing the bog hay, or cutting peats for his winter fuel. The slopes and summits of these gentle elevations appear to be of excellent soil; for they are carrying heavy crops of rye, wheat, barley, oats, and buckwheat, pease, rape, and sown grasses. No land, however, appears in preparation for a turnip crop; but a considerable breadth is in naked fallow. A large proportion of the fields is in old grass kept for hay and pasture, and not broken up for grain crops. The husbandry, implements, horses, cattle, are very like those of the Anglo-Saxon districts of the South of England, such as Kent and Surrey.

The railway extends to Rendsburg on the Eyder, about twenty miles from Kiel; but I was tired of the unsatisfactory way of travelling by rail, and have stopped at Kiel. Rendsburg also being a frontier for-

tress, and in the occupation of Austrian troops on one side of the Eyder, and of Danish on the other, might not be so agreeable a halting place for an idle traveller wandering about the country asking questions of every one, and with no apparent business.

In 1848 I was at Frankfort, when the parliament in the Paulus Kirche was in the height of its delirium and power, and the visionary grandeur of the "New Germania," with its black, red, and yellow flag, its future armies, fleets, and predominance among European nations, filled every head, and gave sound and motion to every tongue. But Frankfort was only the centre of the intellectual or imaginary, not of the practical action of the dreams or schemes of the philosophers, professors, and eminent literary men, who, in that parliament—or rather in their clubs, which ruled their parliament—held for a time in their hands the future fate and well-being of the sovereigns and people of Germany. The practical action of this great movement, and of its government at Frankfort, was developed here, in this peninsula, and especially at Kiel. The drama was composed at Frankfort; but here, in Holstein and Sleswick, was the theatre on which it was played out; and here only can its wisdom, its practical application, its suitableness to the wants, social state, and well-being of the people for whom it was composed, be examined and judged of.

The Notes which I published in 1850, on the political and social condition of the continental people in 1848-49, were written while the people were still in the paroxysm of their delirium and raving about a "New Germany"—an united, centralised government of forty millions of people of Teutonic race and

tongue, with a common nationality. The work was favourably received by the public as a contribution to the means of forming a right judgment of the men, measures, and spirit of our remarkable times. The fever has subsided in Germany; the crisis is past; and the Notes relative to the great German agitation and movement of 1848–49–50 would be incomplete without some inquiry into the real motives and merits of the promoters and leaders of that agitation and movement now that the results are visible, the mirage of enthusiasm is dispelled, and objects are seen in their true places and magnitudes. Kiel is a favourable station for making such inquiries and observations. It was the centre of action, as Frankfort was the centre of speculation. The "Schleswig-Holstein" war, which was represented as the first appearance of the "New Germany" in vindication of her rights and in display of her power among the European nations, was planned, begun, and carried on at Kiel. I propose on this tour to write such observations as may occur to me from time to time on this subject, without studying to connect them into formal dissertations. They may be sometimes contradictory or incorrect, and often trivial; but they will be real impressions and reflections, given as they arise or suggest themselves, in a country which was the seat of a bloody and remarkable war, and in which a weak power, with a total population of only a million and a half of souls, appears to have withstood, and at last to have signally defeated, the army of a power with forty millions.

CHAP. II.

KIEL THE TEKELIA OF PTOLEMY—ITS FIORD—IMPORTANCE AS A NAVAL STATION—TO OBTAIN IT THE SECRET OBJECT OF THE POLITICAL INTRIGUES OF PRUSSIA.—POLICY OF RUSSIA OPPOSED TO A NEW NAVAL POWER IN THE BALTIC.—TEA GARDENS.—SUNDAY THEATRE.—"SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN" SOLDIERS.—LEICHTSINNIGES VOLK.—DIFFERENT TENDENCY OF EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND IN GERMANY.—KIEL FIFTY YEARS AGO.—IMPROVEMENT.—THE UNEMPLOYABLES.—OVER-EDUCATION.—COMPULSORY EDUCATION.—FREE TRADE IN EDUCATION.

KIEL, 1851.—This is a lively little town of about 12,000 inhabitants. It must be the most ancient town in the north of Europe, if it be, as the antiquaries of Kiel assert, the Tekelia of Ptolemy the geographer, who wrote in the second century of our era. They say it is still called Tokiel or Tomkiel by the Platt Deutsch speaking peasantry of the neighbourhood. Its situation is a better proof of its antiquity than its name. It stands on a narrow peninsula, surrounded on three sides by the water of the fiord, or inlet of the Baltic, called the bay of Kiel, and must, from the earliest time in which people congregated together for mutual support and safety, have been a chosen spot for men to defend, or to escape from by sea, or land, if overpowered by an enemy. But there is nothing ancient in the streets, houses, or churches. The north of Germany is not a country of stone; and here, as in all northern towns, the most ancient buildings seldom reach back to the sixteenth century. The use of wooden frame-work, built into the brick walls, prevents, by the decay of the wood, any very ancient houses remaining in their

original state. In a century or two the walls must be rebuilt.

In this beautiful inlet, or fiord of the Baltic, the largest ships of war may anchor close to the town, and the bay could contain, and shelter in safety, the largest naval force. Its entrance from the Baltic is clear and short, yet, at one point, so narrow, that it is entirely commanded by a small fort called Fredericksort, situated on a spit of land running out from the Sleswick shore. This bay of Kiel is the only military haven, or port for a great naval station, on the south side of the Baltic. From Copenhagen to Cronstadt, the naval port of St. Petersburg, there is no other port with depth of water, anchorage, shelter, room for ships of the line, and with such easy access to sea, such strong natural defence of its entrance, and, by the canal from the Eyder and the North Sea, which terminates within this bay, with such command of supplies of coal for steam-vessels, and of all other material of war, from England, Belgium, or down the Elbe. The command of this port would give Prussia, or Germany, if an united Germany should ever become a political power, the command of the Baltic. It is not surprising that the Frankfort Parliament, in its visions of a new European Power, a German Empire under its control, and with fleets to command the Baltic, should have endeavoured to include the duchy of Sleswick in its new dominions. The petty duchy with its 300,000 inhabitants was not itself worth the risk of war with the great Powers, France, England, and Russia, which in 1727 had guaranteed to Denmark the possession of this duchy. But the north side of the entrance into this magnificent bay, and the tongue of

land and fort that commands the entrance, are entirely, and beyond all question, situated in Sleswick, not in Holstein. With the Eyder for a boundary, the bay of Kiel is not available to any Power as a naval station, its entrance being on the Danish side, and commanded from that side. It is evident that the great object of the secret policy of Prussia, of her intrigues and hidden action under the cloak of the Frankfort Parliament, and of her fomenting and aiding with men, money, officers of all ranks, and artillery of all kinds, the war against Denmark after she had ostensibly concluded a peace with that Power, was to obtain directly, or indirectly, by her own means, or through the agency and by using the name of the Frankfort Parliament, what she so much covets, and really wants — a strong naval port and station in the Baltic. The annexation of Sleswick to Holstein as a German not a Danish territory, was the first and indispensable step to be taken. This secret object explains the intrigues, frequent tergiversation, and extreme reluctance, even to the present hour, of the Prussian government, in admitting that the Eyder is the boundary of the German Empire, and that the duchy of Sleswick belongs entirely to the kingdom of Denmark. Russia appears to have seen through the secret object of Prussian policy and intrigue in continuing the war under the cloak of the Frankfort Parliament, after concluding a separate peace in her own name with Denmark, and to have struck in, and prevented a dismemberment of the Danish dominions, which would endanger her own supremacy as a naval power in the Baltic. That supremacy would be gone if either Prussia, or a "New Germany," under any

name or form of government, had obtained by any pretext the possession of both Sleswick and Holstein, and with Sleswick the command and entire possession of this most important naval station. It is the true policy of Russia that Sleswick and Holstein should not belong together to Prussia or Germany, and a new naval Power be established in the Baltic. True policy here went hand in hand with just principle. Russia knows the amount of naval power and naval resources of Sweden and Denmark in the Baltic, knows what the docks of Copenhagen or Carlscrona contain, and can fit out, and will never permit the introduction of a third naval Power into that sea with resources equal, or perhaps in some respects, such as the command of experienced seamen, superior to her own, and more readily available in the event of war, and with a naval station in the bay of Kiel superior to her own at Cronstadt, when by a simple upright adherence to ancient treaties, and to the integrity of the dominions of an ally solemnly guaranteed as to the possession of this very province of Sleswick, by France and England, as well as by Russia, in the treaty signed the 16th of April, 1727, she can with all right and justice step forward and prevent it. Russia sent a squadron in 1850 to the bay of Kiel to watch the proceedings of the "Schleswig-Holstein Stadtholders," or rather of Prussia under their name, and to show that she was not unmindful of her guarantee and national honour. In this bay of Kiel lies the key to the dark and unprincipled intrigues and manœuvres of the Prussian government in 1848–49–50, and in the war under the mask of peace carried on to the last against Denmark.

Kiel, 1851. — The sides of this inlet of the Baltic rise gently from the water, and are covered, in some places down to the water edge, with the most magnificent woods of elm, beech, oak, chesnut, and lime trees. The fir tribe is scarce. At the north end of the town is a Schloss, a square lump of a chateau, and a Schloss-garden in the style, and of the age, of Louis XIV. The garden is open to the public, and the old French taste of clipped hedges, and labyrinths, and statues, has given way to a more natural and economical style of ornamental gardening; and the trees in the alleys have been allowed to grow up, and now form magnificent vaults of foliage over gravel walks close to the shore, and lead to a wood in which tea-gardens, skittle-grounds, and bathing-houses offer refreshment and amusement to the inhabitants. The Germans in the country towns, and even in the large cities, pass much of their time in summer in tea-gardens, and people of the highest class, as well as of the middle and lower classes, frequent them. To pass the evening at home is not at all an enjoyment of life to the continental man. He must be out with wife and family, to some public place of amusement, to feel happy. Last Sunday evening, in my walk through the wood adjoining the Schloss-garden, I observed over the hedge that a number of well-dressed people, gentlemen and ladies, were sitting in rows, on benches and chairs, in the open air, listening to some one speaking. I concluded, in my Scotch simplicity, that this might be a field preacher, possibly a Mormonite, or a Roman Catholic priest, expounding his doctrines to a congregation. The Mormonites and the Roman Catholics are very busy in this peninsula, and very successful in making

proselytes. In Jutland and the north of Sleswick, the Mormonites, or Latter-day Saints, are so numerous, that a weekly or monthly periodical journal will soon be established, it is said, for their body. I paid six skellings at the entry of the path leading to the meeting-place of the congregation, to two men standing like elders at a kirk door, and walked up the avenue, and gravely took a seat on one of the benches among the rest of the assembly opposite to a wooden pavilion. Presently a curtain in front of it rose, and I found myself just in time for the second act of a comedy very well got up, the scenery, dresses, and actors very good, and all performed within the pavilion, which was of the size of a large room, or of the stage of a country theatre. The orchestra was in front, and behind was the audience in the Roman fashion, sitting in the open air in an amphitheatre scooped out of the hill-side, with a gradual rise of level from the stage backwards to the last row of benches, so that all could at least see equally well. Some four or five hundred people were present, several civil and military persons of rank, some merchants, shopkeepers, tradesmen, with their families, many ladies and children, and all belonging evidently to the educated classes of society. To drop unexpectedly into such an assembly on a Sunday evening — especially here in Holstein — gives one much to reflect on.

In the sensitive, refined, sentimental German mind and character lies, beyond all question, a quick and deep feeling not to be found in other people, except it may be here and there in a romantic, imaginative, novel-reading youth: but how transitory, how versatile this feeling! Many of this assembly, males,

females, and children, were in mourning; and one cannot but remember that twelve months have not yet gone round since the bloody battles of Idstedt, Missunda, and Frederickstadt, cut off almost all the youth of Holstein, and of this town in particular, and left not a family in it which had not some bereavement — a father, son, brother, or near relation, or friend — to deplore. When one looks round and sees in this assembly not a few of the former officers of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army, in their faded uniforms, which, from their general destitution, they are allowed to wear out, having no other clothing, many of them on crutches, maimed, and evidently disabled from ever earning a living, and when one considers that the whole forty millions of German patriots, so fondly boasted of two years ago by the newspaper press, as enthusiastic for German unity, centralisation, a "New Germany," a common "Vaterland," and ready to lay down life and fortune in the cause, have not contributed so much to relieve those partakers in, and victims of their enthusiasm, as a single town in Scotland has contributed, and, year after year, cheerfully contributes to the support of the Free Kirk, one must conclude that these are a very light-headed, light-hearted people, or, as their own language better expresses it, a "leichtsinniges Volk," a people easily raised to a temporary enthusiasm for any subject or cause, ready to sacrifice, at the moment, life and fortune for any object for which their feelings have been excited by their popular writers, ready to die for a song, to march to the cannon's mouth, to the tune of "Schleswig-Holstein meerumschungen," but incapable of acting without this nervous excitement, incapable of cool

examination of the principles and practical results of the course of action which they adopt from feeling, not from judgment, and incapable, therefore, of steady adherence to any cause.

Another reflection is suggested by this Sunday evening scene. Education in England, and in the continental countries, appears to have opposite tendencies and influences on the religious character. In England and Scotland, the more education has been diffused, the more of religious spirit and feeling has been diffused among the people. We are a much more educated, and a much more religious people now, than we were fifty years ago; and among the many illustrious philosophers which the country has produced, it may be said that, in general, their religious feelings and principles have not been weakened, or obliterated, by their knowledge and scientific attainments. The tendency of education on the Continent has been the very reverse. The more educated the people have become, they have become the less religious. The highly educated and philosophic have run into mysticism, or into rationalism, or have fallen, with the great mass of the population they educate, or influence, into a state of apathy with regard to religion. This may partly be ascribed to the want of intellectuality in the forms, ceremonies, and symbols of the Church of Rome, and the want of toleration, in many countries, for any other Church, and partly to the forced amalgamation of the two branches of Protestantism into one new State Church by the late King of Prussia, without regard to the hereditary doctrines and feelings of the people. The educational system of the Continent appears, however, to be the main cause of this irreligious tendency.

At the age in which religious impressions and feelings are formed in the infant mind by the mother, or the day-school mistress, in England, the child on the Continent is under the tuition of the master of the primary school of his locality for his secular education, and of the minister of his parish for his religious education. That the pupil may do honour to the master at the examination, and the master be promoted to a higher charge, by his zeal and success in tuition, is the main object of the schoolmaster; and that the child answers well, and readily, the questions of the catechism, when the probst, or the bishop, comes round to examine and confirm the young people of his diocese (confirmation, on the Continent, is an important civil, as well as religious act, inferring competency, as major in years and understanding, to execute legal deeds), is the main object of the religious instructor. A minister may teach the catechism, but woman only can teach religion, can infuse into the infant mind that religious sentiment, without which Christianity is merely history or biography.

The educational system of the Continent, enforcing education in primary schools, and subverting family instruction by the parents, or by teachers chosen by, and having the confidence of the parents, has been detrimental to society in two ways. It has destroyed the influence of religious impressions which, politically considered, are the strongest ties that hold together the social body in a sound moral state; and it has thrown the education of the people, the formation of the public mind, and of the political, social, religious, and moral principles and opinions of the youth of the Continent, into the hands of a kind of

corporate body of teachers independent both of the state and of the people, bred up and imbued with views generally inimical to the governments which appointed them, and who have been filled at the universities, by which they have directly, or indirectly, been taught and formed, with impracticable, extravagant, and visionary schemes of social reform. Socialism, communism, and all the extravagant theories which occupy the public mind on the Continent, are derived from this root. The continental governments, by attempting to give a national education, through educational functionaries, to their subjects, have raised a power independent of themselves, and which they cannot control. They appoint the teachers, but the teachers are taught and recommended for appointment by a power within the state, greater than the state, and which, as literary men, the teachers follow in every visionary speculation or project. Free trade in education, as in every other employment, freedom to the parent to clothe the mind as he clothes the body of his child, according to the means and social position he holds, would have produced a more wholesome social state on the Continent. These functionary teachers drench the people with a school knowledge of no practical application to real affairs, and which cultivates the imagination, the taste, and the vanity of the individual, but not at all his thinking powers, his good sense, his moral and religious principles, and his character as a member of society. He comes out of his educational course brimful of wild theories and speculations in religion, philosophy, and social polity, which are first engendered in the universities of Germany, and are then spread, by this educational machinery in their hands, through

the lower as well as the higher schools. An education, not growing up naturally in society from the requirements and influences of property, of free social action, and of the improvement of the material condition of a people, but pressed down upon the public mind by government authority, or encouragement, may lead to a social evil greater even than ignorance — to raising up an ambitious class, solely invested with the formation of the public mind, holding a monopoly of all education, possessing great social influence, and, perhaps, great learning and brilliant talents, but unrestrained by religious or moral principle, by prudence, discretion, common sense, and wielding the press, and the immense educational power in their hands, to excite a universal enthusiasm for their own impracticable and visionary schemes. Is not this the history of Germany and of France for this half century? Has socialism or communism any other origin?

Kiel, 1851. — I have an object in remaining in this important little town longer than a traveller in search of amusement, pleasure, or excitement, would think necessary. Here, as stated before, the great German movement of 1848 was brought into action — the theory and principles of the parliament of Frankfort were here carried into reality and effect by the provisional government of Holstein and Sleswick, established at Kiel. Here one may collect information about the agents, and motives of the agents, in the great movement of Germany, which was developed into a regular war in this country; and here one may collect the principal pamphlets, and temporary Will-of-the-Wisps of the press, which may throw light upon the singular events of 1848–49 and

50. I have also a little local attachment to Kiel; for, half a century ago, I was lodged and boarded with the rector of the burgh school, the worthy Dominie Danielson, for a year and a half, for the purpose of acquiring the German language. There is a pleasure in revisiting, in old age, the places one has known in youth, and although no one recollects me, nor even the persons whom I recollect, yet the house I lived in, the streets, the market-place, the walks and roads about the town are familiar to me. There is this advantage, also, that it removes the usual and natural prejudice of old age, that everything was better in former times. The improvement of this little town and its environs is undeniable, and very great. Roads have been macadamised, new houses, new streets built, a quay constructed, and the population has increased by one-third during these fifty years. The population also appears better off. Wooden shoes are scarcely seen, beggars or rags not at all. The movement and bustle in the streets, the number of shops, with articles on sale which were not known, or not wanted, in former times, the tea-gardens, bathing establishments, printing and bookselling establishments, indicate a great advance in well-being and civilisation in the town, and the abolition of leibeigenschaft, or personal serfage, the partition of many of the great estates into small, independent properties, and the improved breeds of cows and horses abounding everywhere notwithstanding the recent civil war, show that the country population is well off and thriving. The government of this duchy, during the last fifty years, cannot have been very bad, since, in every trade, or means of living, and in every class, such a progress in

wealth and prosperity is visible to those who know what Holstein was half a century ago.

Kiel, 1851.—In all countries in which the land, by its general distribution in small estates through the social body, gives the maximum of employment to the population that land can give, there must always be a numerous class who cannot be absorbed in the trades connected with or employed by husbandry, and who are in excess above the numbers husbandry itself can employ. Where the land is not, as in America, boundless, but has for ages been appropriated, filled up with population, and cultivated or turned to use, the demand for the products of industry in the arts connected with civilisation, or even in the ordinary useful arts, decreases with the increase of population. The means to employ, consume, and pay are diminishing, and at last wanting. The blacksmith, the tailor, the shoemaker, cannot be kept constantly at work in his parish or village when increasing numbers to be fed, without any increase of the breadth of land from which they are to be fed, unavoidably restricts to the narrowest limits of what is absolutely necessary the expenditure of every family. The manufacturing and commercial country gives more permanent and extensive employment than the agricultural, even in the common useful arts, because those who, from want of employment in husbandry, press into the few trades and occupations which give a subsistence in an agricultural country, are drawn off to other more lucrative branches of industry in a manufacturing country, and become employers, instead of competitors for employment, in the simple arts. The ornamental arts, those conducing to the comfort, convenience, and luxury of a

wealthy class, are, if fairly considered, as necessary in the labour market as the strictly useful arts, because they absorb the numbers which the latter cannot employ. It may be doubted if, in proportion to population, a greater number of idle individuals can be found in manufacturing and commercial England than in agricultural Germany or France.

There is this remarkable difference between the unemployed in England and the unemployed on the Continent. In England the unemployed are people who can get no work. They are unemployed because a stagnation in trade, or in the branch of industry they have been bred to, or because sickness, misfortune, or misconduct, has deprived the individual of employment; but there is not one in a thousand who is unemployed because he was never bred to any employment. It is very uncommon in England to find a youth of any class or rank who has not, before sixteen years of age, fixed upon his future calling, trade, or profession, according to his position and prospects in life. On the Continent (owing, perhaps, to the ease of supporting a lad or two on the family farm, although their labour may not be necessary for its cultivation—owing, too, to the uncertainty which the Landwehr system, or the conscription, throws into the disposal of a young man's time until he has completed the term of his military service for three years, which he must perform, whatever trade he may be learning) the number of unemployed who were never bred to any occupation at all, is very much greater than among us. This numerous class on the Continent may truly be called the unemployable. They are, in general, persons over-educated for their actual position or reasonable

prospects in life, too refined and intellectual for manual labour, yet not of sufficient mental power to earn a living by intellectual labour. This class is not numerous in England. Education is not so easily and cheaply obtained as abroad, at least not that education which qualifies for any of the learned professions. Among us, education, in the lower, middle, and even in the higher classes of society, is more directed to the practical and useful acquirements which, in our social state, lead to wealth and social influence, than to those which qualify for office or lead to literary distinction. Every boy not apprenticed to a mechanical art is not, as in Germany, educated at an university, in some vague hope or prospect of his obtaining an office under Government. The traveller who gets acquainted with German students will find them in general well versed in modern European literature, masters of two or three languages, enthusiastic adorers of Shakspeare, Goethe, Lord Byron, and Sir Walter, and imbued with all the meaning, or mysticism, of Kant or Fichte, but not able to apply the common rules of arithmetic, book-keeping, or practical mathematics, to any real business. A people, like an individual, may be over-educated as well as under-educated for their true position; and the evil to society from a general over-education is greater (if we may judge from a comparison of the present condition of the German and English people) than the evil of under-education. It seems to be with a nation as with an individual, that self-education alone is of any value — what is superinduced by government tuition and enforced school attendance is comparatively worthless. The educational system of the Continent

is adverse to independence of mind, to self-acting, self-thinking habits in ordinary affairs, and to habits of industry. It debases instead of elevating the character of the youth. They are led away by their smattering of the literature and philosophy of the day from the active pursuits of life, on which the well-being of nations and of individuals rests, are taught to despise them as beneath the attention of men of taste, education, and intellectual power; and they hang about the universities, or at home, occupied in learned, philosophical, or tasteful studies, although often in real penury, and live in what they consider an honourable poverty because their time is devoted to literary attainments, but which, truly considered, is a disgraceful idleness prejudicial to the community and to themselves. Men whose intellectual powers would not be at all out of place in making or mending shoes, or in teaching the incipient apprentice in the Sartorian art how to thread his needle, are endeavouring to write up a name for themselves in some department of literature, to be poets, novelists, historians, philosophers, lecturers, newspaper editors, and to obtain a living at the public expense as professors or public functionaries. This class has no encouragement in England to multiply itself to excess, because an university education is not required, nor is it even a recommendation for employment in the public service. A master of arts degree is not considered a necessary qualification for the place of a clerk in a public office, or of a tax collector, tide waiter, or excise officer. This class of expectants on office is the bane of Germany. In it are engendered, and spread abroad, the wild speculations and impracticable schemes which fill the German mind and turn aside the

youth from sober industry, practical knowledge, and persevering application in the ordinary useful arts and occupations. The individuals of this numerous class are literally unemployable, are fit for no employment requiring good sense, judgment, and steady conduct. Romantic and flighty when far advanced beyond the age of romance and youth, they are the visionaries who dream of a republican Germany, of an united commonwealth of all of German race and tongue, of a new development of society, of communism, socialism, and all the *Schwarmerie* of a perfectibility of social arrangements. They are sincere enthusiasts ready to fight and die for their dreams; but enthusiasm is no proof or test of truth. Men in every age have been as ready to fight and die for error as for truth; and if we search history, from the first crusade down to the French and German excitement of 1848, we find many more martyrs in the cause of error than in the cause of truth. The false encouragement given to education and learning in Germany—by connecting government function, political station, and even the ordinary occupations of the land surveyor, the forest bailiff, the country schoolmaster, the village farrier, with examinations and degrees by boards of university-bred functionaries — has reared this class of unemployables, and impedes the progress of manufacturing and commercial industry by offering to the youth the prospect of a living in Government employment, or in an occupation fenced in by a monopoly against all competition with those who have taken an examen, as it is called, and obtained a licence or degree in it. The system will always keep the German character what it is — incapable of self-government, independent action, or free institutions,—learned

but servile, visionary, enthusiastic about trifles, and weak.

It is a great truth in social economy, and one of which our advocates of free trade, who are also our most clamorous advocates of some national system of education under government encouragement, or even under compulsion by law, seem to be surprisingly and most inconsistently ignorant, that in education, as in every thing else, supply follows demand, that this is an universal law of nature, and that a people will always, and under all circumstances, educate themselves, or find education for themselves, up to the demand and necessity for knowledge and educated labour among them, and that a forced supply of learning, or educated labour, beyond what the social state of a country requires, and can fairly and naturally use and employ, is altogether as opposed to the true principles of social economy and of free trade as a forced supply of bodily labour by government encouragement or by legal compulsion would be in the labour market. The state of Germany and of France clearly proves this truth in social philosophy. The governments are obliged to create offices and employments for their educated men at the expense of the civil rights and freedom of the people, and to rear educated men at their national schools and universities to fill those unnecessary offices which they have created and cannot suppress. The supply of intellectual labour exceeds the natural demand or use for it, and the excess of scholarship produced by government encouragement is an evil, not a good, to the community. The result would be similar if it was shoemaking or carpenter-work that government encouraged and took out of the wholesome natural law

of supply and demand. Free trade in education is of more importance to society than free trade in corn or cotton goods. The result in Germany of giving a monopoly of the educational means of a country to educational boards and their primary schools, gymnasia, progymnasia, and universities, and allowing none but their licensed teachers to give instruction to the people, has been to raise a power within the state, governing the people, as the Roman Catholic clergy did in the middle ages, by the monopoly of education, and by the visions and prejudices they infuse, exempt from all opposition or counteracting influences from other teachers, and who, in 1848, shook every continental throne by their schemes, their social influence, and the false education they had been giving to the mind of the youth of Germany.

CHAP. III.

CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL CLASS IN HOLSTEIN. — EMPLOYMENT FOR LABOURERS. — DAIRY HUSBANDRY — DIVISION OF THE LAND. — SMALL PROPRIETORS — FARM SERVANTS. — PROTECTION OF THE COTTAR CLASS. — GOVERNMENT ALLIED WITH THE PEOPLE SINCE THE REVOLUTION IN DENMARK OF 1660. — CIVIL LIBERTY GREATER UNDER THE AUTOCRATIC RULE OF DENMARK THAN UNDER THE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM OR FRANCE. — FOOD AND WAGES OF THE WORKING MAN — HIS LODGING — WAY OF WORKING — HARROWING LAND. — LARGE DAIRY FARMS — VERPACHTERS — SCOTCH DAIRY CATTLE. — ENGLISH BREED OF HORSES. — GENERAL WELL-BEING OF THE AGRICULTURAL CLASSES BEFORE THE LATE INSURRECTION.

KIEL, 1851. — If any part of the Continent was well off before the late unhappy insurrection and war, it was Holstein and Sleswick. It is difficult to discover any local grievance, or oppression, which had to be repressed, removed, or revenged, by a resort to arms. The population of both together is about 660,000 souls, and is altogether agricultural, and therefore increasing but slowly, and only in proportion to the increase of employment and food from the land. Manufactures and trade occupy but a small number, and only for the supply of the home market. The working man is not, as with us, working and multiplying in the dark as to the permanence of his means of subsistence, and depending upon the variable speculations or demands of buyers and consumers in an unseen foreign market. The land, also, seems particularly well divided for the employment and subsistence of the inhabitants. There are very large estates with barony-courts; and much of the feudal rights and privileges of which we have still the

skeleton remaining in our manors, manorial courts, copyhold tenures, game rights, and other appurtenances of the lord of the manor, and the farms on these estates are on a scale of which we have few examples in Scotland. Dairy products, butter, cheese, and pigs, are the basis of all the husbandry in Holstein and Sleswick, and arable farms of a size to keep two hundred cows, summer and winter, are not uncommon; some even keep a stock of four hundred. Dairy husbandry gives much more employment to male and female labour, all the year round, than the production of grain crops only. The farmer here has his fields under a regular rotation, and has his dairy work giving regular employment to labour, over and above his field work. Of these large farms it is reckoned there are about 3057 in Holstein and Sleswick. But the largest proportion of the country, and of the best land in it, is in the hands of small proprietors with farms of a size to keep ten or fifteen cows, and which they cultivate by hired labour along with the labour of the family. These small proprietors, called huffner, probably from *hoff*, a farmsteading and court-yard, correspond to the yeomen, small freeholders, and statesmen of the north of England, and many of them are wealthy. Of this class of estates, it is reckoned there are about 125,150 in the two duchies: some of the huffners appear to be copyholders, not freeholders, that is, they hold their land by hereditary right, and may sell or dispose of it; but their land is subject to certain fixed payments of money, labour, cartages, ploughing yearly to the lord of the manor of which they hold it, or to fixed fines for non-payment. A class of smaller landholders are called Innsters, and are pro-

perly cottars with a house, a yard, and land for a cow or two, and pay a rent in money, and in labour, and receive wages, at a reduced rate, for their work all the year round. They are equivalent to our class of married farm servants, but with the difference that they cannot be turned off at the will or convenience of the verpachter, or large farmer, but hold of the proprietor; and all the conditions under which they hold—sometimes for life, sometimes for a term of years—are as fixed, and supported by law, as those between the proprietor and the verpachter. Of this class there are about 67,710, and of house-cottars without land 17,480, and 36,283 day labourers in husbandry. The land is well divided among a total population of only 662,500 souls.

There is no country, except, perhaps, England, in which there is such multiplicity and variety of holdings, and courts, as in this part of Germany; so that Holstein is a paradise for lawyers. I have been told that in the little town of Itzhoe, of some five hundred houses, there are three distinct jurisdictions. On the abolition of leibeigenschaft, or feudal serfage, government interfered for the protection of the serf, and gave him hereditary right to his holding of house and land, and a right to redeem the burdens under which he held them. On the large baronial estates which have hereditary jurisdiction and police, the baron, or proprietor, appoints and pays the judge and other officers of his barony-court; but they must have taken their degrees at the University of Kiel, must be confirmed, after examination, by the government, and their judgments, and protocols, and the cases before them, must be reported, and confirmed by the district government-courts. They are sharply

supervised by legal functionaries above them, appointed by government, and are as independent of the baron, or local proprietor, as our sheriff-substitute, or resident local magistrate, of the landowners of his county.

In 1660, as most readers of modern history know, the government of Denmark, with all legislative and executive power whatsoever, was, by a solemn act of the States, vested in the will and absolute authority of the king, without any control or check from the nobility, clergy, or people. "L'état, c'est moi," could be said in the fullest and clearest sense by the kings of Denmark alone, of all European sovereigns. The object of the king and people, in this extraordinary act establishing a legal despotism in the kingly power, was to extinguish entirely the oppression and tyranny of the nobles and clergy, which had become intolerable both to the king and people. The spirit of this autocratic government was naturally opposed to the aristocracy in all the possessions of the crown, in Holstein and Sleswick, as well as in Denmark proper, and was naturally favourable to the people, by whom the yoke of the Danish nobility, and their power in opposing the Crown, were broken. To this spirit may be ascribed the preservation of civil rights in Norway, so fully that now, after enjoying for forty years the most democratic constitution in Europe, the people have not found it necessary to make any alteration of importance in the old institutions and laws of the nominally despotic government under which they had lived. In Holstein, especially in the districts on the west coast, the people elect their own parish bailiffs, subject only to the confirmation of the election by the Crown, and,

with the head bailiff, or lord lieutenant, who is the only functionary appointed directly by the king, manage all the local affairs and funds. In no other part of Germany is the administration of their own local interests so entirely in the hands of the people themselves. The military service, also, was far less oppressive in Holstein than in other parts of Germany. The inhabitants of the towns were exempt, the inhabitants of the country were allowed to find substitutes, and those who served were allowed to remain at home, on furlough, for great part of the year, but drawing no pay, and when embodied, the distance to their homes from any part of the duchy was but small.

Governments which in principle and form are despotic are not always those in which the mass of the people enjoy the least of civil liberty. The despotism of republican governments, as of ancient Rome or of Venice, or of France, and the nominally constitutional governments of some countries of Germany, at the present day, may be more oppressive than that of autocratic governments. Freedom of thought, word, and action, of industry, of the employment of capital, and of the mental and bodily powers in the business and occupations of every-day life, is more interfered with, and restricted, under the constitutional governments of France, Belgium, Bavaria, and the other continental countries which have got the show and machinery of representative assemblies for legislation, than under the old régime of those countries. The continental people enjoyed practically more freedom, in the last century, than they do now under their landwehr system, passport system, functionary system, and educational system,

and the superintendence of boards, and official people, over every private undertaking. The people of Holstein appear to have enjoyed more freedom and more material well-being than the people of any other district of Germany. They had the advantage of two considerable cities, Hamburgh and Lubeck, buying all they can produce, and employing much of their labour in preparing fuel, viz. peat and wood, for the inhabitants, at the season when labour is least required in the country. They were comparatively well off.

Kiel, 1851.—The condition of the common labouring man, the remuneration he really receives for his labour, in lodging, clothing, food, wages, in different countries, is the most important subject the traveller can inquire into. We may talk of a man's right to political and civil liberty, to represent or be represented in parliaments, to have a voice in making the laws he is to obey, and to be a free citizen of a great and glorious free country; but after all our discussions and speculations, we come back always to the simple, homely question of all mankind,—What's for dinner? The diet of the working man is to him, and his worldly happiness, all-important; and in classes far above that of the labouring farm servant, much of human happiness is served out three times a day in breakfast, dinner, and supper,—the philosopher who has those may exist in this world without much philosophy. On this subject the following details ought not to be uninteresting. On farms in two different districts, and at some distance from each other, and from this town, the unmarried farm servants, lodged and boarded in the farmer's house, but not living at his table, get the

following diet — which is the usual diet of the district for this class: —

Every morning, thin soup made with butter-milk and groats. The groats are of barley (pot barley), or of buck-wheat, which is much cultivated in Holstein for soups and pottage. Every evening, thick pottage and milk. Bread, the black unsifted rye-bread of the country, is at discretion at these morning and evening meals, and at all the other meals.

On Sunday, the dinner is a soup made from lard, with dumplings, and roots, viz. potatoes, or with pears in it.

On Monday, the rest of the soup of Sunday, with dumplings, and mashed potatoes in lard-sauce.

On Tuesday, barley boiled in milk, with bacon in summer, and in winter with salt meat, and mashed potatoes, or cabbage, beans, carrots, according to the season.

On Wednesday, thin pottage with sweet milk, and egg pancakes with a piece of bacon to each pancake; in winter, dumplings with meat sauce.

On Thursday, pease pudding, or yellow peas boiled, with bacon in winter, and in summer, soup as on Sunday.

On Friday, pancakes with soup or pottage; in winter, often milk, pease pudding, and in summer with thick milk.

On Saturday, dumplings and milk, with cheese and a lump of butter, the pound being divided into fourteen lumps.

Every man-servant is allowed, besides, $\frac{3}{4}$lb. of butter per week. The woman-servants receive no butter weekly, but, instead of it, three dollars (about

6*s.* 8*d.*) yearly, as butter money. Bread, as before stated, and small beer are at discretion.

On the other farm, the dietary was, according to the custom of the district, as follows. Every morning, warm butter-milk soup of groats, with bread and butter.

On Monday, the dinner is thin groat-soup, and potatoes mashed with lard.

On Tuesday, milk soup, and after it suet dumplings with brown sauce, or with lard cut in square lumps in syrup.

On Wednesday, yellow peas with lard, and flesh-meat.

On Thursday, the same warmed up.

On Friday, thick groat-pottage with the remainders of the former meals warmed up.

On Saturday, sweetened groat soup, or suet dumplings in milk, and bread and butter.

On Sunday, pudding, or egg pancakes, with flesh-meat.

Every week-day evening, butter-milk pottage, and on Sunday evening sweetened pottage; and every night bread spread thick with butter. Beer at all times at discretion. The money wages of men-servants, thus boarded, is about 30 dollars (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) yearly, of female servants about 18 dollars (2*l.*). The cooper, a necessary farm servant on a large dairy farm, the grieves, the upper dairy woman, the housekeeper, get higher wages; the cowherds, swine-herds, house-maids, something less. Each man-servant has four horses to work, and take care of; each female servant is expected to milk, and do the dairy-work of from 16 to 18 cows, the churning, which is the most laborious part, being done by horse power,

and the cleaning the cowhouses by the cowherds. The labouring man is certainly well although not delicately fed; and considering the relative value of money, and that clothing material is home-made, durable, and takes little money out of his pocket, he is not ill-paid. He is always well lodged when living in the house of the farmer; and the cottage of the married labourer, or farm servant, is very superior to the dwellings of the same class in Scotland or England. Many of this class on the large farms hold their cottages, their cow's grass in summer and fodder for a cow in winter, peats, and some other privileges, by special agreement with the proprietor, not with the verpachter or tenant only, and some even by hereditary right, but have to deliver work on the farm daily at rates below the wages of ordinary farm servants. The hours of work are from six in the morning to six in the evening, with two hours of rest. The summer and winter rates of their wages, and all circumstances in their position, are fixed by law, so that they cannot be oppressed by the verpachter or tacksman, nor by the proprietor. The government, in abolishing the servitude, or leibeigenschaft of the peasantry to the feudal baron, appears to have been particularly careful of this class, as the most exposed to petty oppression, and to have given them rights which, perhaps, in strict application of the feudal law, they could not have claimed, and to have given them, in the local courts, protectors, and redress of every just complaint. A large verpachter told me he could not get his married labourers of this class to work after six o'clock even in his hay-harvest, although he would have paid them extra

wages to work until it was dark. They had work of their own to do.

The people are well lodged, and more roomily and warmly than in England. On the meanest dwelling there is always a good, sound, heavy roof of thatch. The country abounds in small lakes, scarcely a farm without a pool; and the abundance of reeds, and of rye straw, rye being the main crop of the country, makes the roofing material plentiful and cheap. The side walls and gables are constructed of brick in wooden frame-work, or of clay and straw, as in Bedfordshire and other midland and southern counties of England, and are white-washed every year, and the wooden beams painted black. The houses of the peasant proprietors are entered by a large folding door in the gable, through which the long waggon with its two horses is received into the dwelling house. On one side stand the horses and cattle, on the other side are the dwelling rooms, and above, in the loft, is stowed a large proportion of the winter fodder. The wide waggon-way goes through the house, which has a folding door in the opposite gable. The dwelling rooms of the family are annexed to this one large hall containing the cattle, horses, and waggons, and are entered from it, and have their light from windows on the side. In these rooms there is much neatness and comfort; and even the great hall, which is stable, cow-house, and waggon-house, and into which they have their usual entrance, is always very clean. One sees many indications that the inhabitants enjoy some ease, and have leisure to bestow on the gratifications of taste. The windows of the poorest house rarely want a bit of ornamental drapery, and are always decked with flowers and plants in flower-

pots. The people have a passion for flowers. The peasant girl and village beau are adorned with bouquets of the finest of ordinary flowers; and in the town you see people buying flowers who with us, in the same station, would think it extravagance. The soil and climate favour this taste. In no part of Europe are the ordinary garden-flowers produced in such abundance and luxuriance as in Holstein and Sleswick. The rose, in particular, thrives, and is attended to. Holstein may truly be called a land of roses in this season. The people have, perhaps, too easy a life, and too sure a subsistence, to be of a very active character. If you see a farm waggon on the road, with its two horses, taking a load of hay or peats to market, you generally find the driver quietly mounted on the one horse, and a friend or neighbour on the other. I have seen a farmer earthing up his potatoes with a single-horse plough, and a driver riding on the horse's back to guide him between the drills; and the horse had been saddled for the purpose. Those rests, and pauses, and ways of doing their work, which prevent lazy folk from killing themselves with their exertions, seem to be understood and valued here. One practice in their husbandry I am at a loss to judge of — whether to consider it a saving of labour and fatigue to the labourer only, or a saving of labour, that is of money, to the employer also. I saw it on a large farm in a field in which sixteen horses were at work harrowing. There were only four men working the sixteen horses. Two horses were in each harrow, and the harrows, and all the equipment, were of the same size and form as with us, and the field was flat. The peculiarity was, that the harrowing was circular,

the harrows working round and round the driver. He stood in the centre, like a horse-breaker lounging a young horse, and, with the long reins in his hand, kept the one pair of horses, and their harrows, along side of, but a little behind, the other pair and their harrows. When he had reduced the clods to his mind, he took up a new centre on a line with the old. This was certainly a saving of labour, or of the fatigue of walking up and down, lengthwise and crosswise, over the whole field. It appeared a saving of labour also for the employer. Four men could scarcely work sixteen horses in our way of harrowing, each pair with two harrows. It occurred to me that the tines of the harrows must leave little circular furrows in the mould which might hold rain water, and keep the land wet; and I went to visit the field again a few days afterwards. But the mould had been reduced as fine as in a garden bed, or in a well prepared turnip field, in which the rake or the harrow makes no marks with its teeth; and it was water furrowed in beds, as in our practice, and sown with rape. The practice of harrowing in a circle is universal in Holstein and Sleswick.

With a large and increasing proportion of the small farms belonging to peasant proprietors working themselves with hired labourers, and of a size to keep from five to thirty or forty cows summer and winter, there are many large farms of a size to keep from two hundred to three hundred, and even four hundred cows, summer and winter, and let to verpachters, or large tenant farmers, paying money rents. This class of verpachters are farmers of great capital and skill, very intelligent and enterprising, well acquainted with all modern improvements in

husbandry, using guano, tile-draining, pipe-draining; and likely to be very formidable rivals in the English markets to the old-fashioned, use-and-want, English farmers, and even to most of our improving large farmers in Scotland. They have a better soil, and, in summer, a better climate, and are nearer to the London market for cattle, corn, and dairy products of all kinds, than nine tenths of the English or Scotch farmers who are not in the immediate vicinity of a railway, or of a steam-shipping port. The class of verpachters were originally strangers from Mecklenburg, Brunswick, and Hanover, bred to the complicated arrangements and business of a great dairy farm, and they are the best educated, most skilful, and most successful farmers in the north of Europe. Many of them have purchased large estates. The extensive farms they occupy, generally on leases of nine years, are the domains and estates of the nobles which, before 1784, were cultivated by the serfs who were, before that period, *adscripti glebæ*, and who were bound to work every day, without wages, on the main farm of the feudal lord, and had cottages and land, on the outskirts of the estate, to work upon for their own living, when they were not wanted on the farm of the baron. Their feudal lord could imprison them, flog them, reclaim them if they had deserted from his land, and had complete feudal jurisdiction over them in his baronial count. But his power, even then, was not altogether without check or control. It had always been the spirit and policy of the Danish government to restrict the authority of the nobility in the country. The baron was obliged to support his serfs in old age, sickness, or time of famine from a failure of the

crops on his estate. He was obliged to keep and pay a doctor for them,—to build and maintain a court-house, a prison, —to pay a justiciarius or barony-judge, a clerk of court, and other functionaries, —to find suitable dwellings and salaries for them; and although he presented to these offices, the functionaries were subject to the approval of the crown, and, when appointed and approved, were altogether independent of the baron, and were responsible to crown officers for every official act. It was neither cheap nor agreeable to be a feudal baron or count. About the year 1784, the spirit of the age began to make the feudal relations unprofitable, as well as odious. The serfs would enlist in the army, or desert to the free towns, Hamburg or Lubeck, or emigrate, and set themselves free, leaving none but the aged and infirm to labour without wages on the estate. Some nobles, among the first Count Bernstoff, emancipated their serfs, and paid day's wages for the labour they required on their estates. Some valued the serf's labour, and the land with his cottage which he had for his subsistence, and converted the amount into a debt upon the little farm, which the serf had to pay interest for and redeem, but, in the mean time, was full proprietor of the land. In some cases labour continued to be paid as a rent, or feu duty, for the land; but government interfered to fix an equitable amount, to determine the number of days per week, and of hours per day, which could be exacted, and to make the holding perpetual provided the conditions were fulfilled or a stipulated fine paid for non-fulfilment. On the whole, the feudal vassals and serfs became proprietors of their several holdings, some remaining subject to a few servitudes, such as

certain cartages of peats, wood, or corn, certain days' work in hay-time and harvest, at certain rates, but all fixed, registered in the books of the local court, and placed beyond arbitrary exaction or oppression on the one hand, or evasion on the other. The extensive barony lands, formerly cultivated under the inspection of the baron's bailiff and overseers, by leibeigen serfs working without wages, had now to be cultivated by hired labour. The stock of cattle, horses, seed, implements, on those extensive farms or estates belonged to the baron, and were of great value. The cattle, and particularly the horses, were, even at that period, of the best breeds, and descended from English or other foreign stock of the best quality. The sale of horses furnished a large proportion of the agricultural income of the country. The officers of all the continental armies were mounted on Holstein horses; and noblemen, as well as government, kept full blood English or Arabian horses for improving or keeping up the stock. But when farming, by the abolition of the feudal system of working the land by the unpaid labour of the serfs, became a complicated trade, in which labour and every thing else had to be paid for, and every kind of farm produce had to be raised and turned into money, the baron and his bailiff had no skill to manage such vast and complicated concerns. The estates were very generally let to verpachters on leases of nine years. The stock of cattle, horses, &c., was left on the farm in *steelbow*, as it was called in Scotland about a century ago, when a similar arrangement existed there; that is, the stock was valued, and the same value and numbers had to be returned to the proprietor at the expiry of the lease The term of nine years of lease

was probably adopted with some reference to the usual age which cattle and horses attain, so that the stock to be returned could only be of the same breed as that left on the land, being the immediate descendants, in the next generation, of the cattle let to the tacksman or verpachter. In many cases the proprietor, although not engaged in the details of making and selling butter and cheese and feeding pigs, but receiving a clear money rent from the tenant, continued to improve his stock by importing English horses, and particularly Ayrshire cows. Some of these large dairy farms, that, for instance, of Noer, between Eckernfiorde and Kiel, with 400 cows, are entirely stocked with descendants of pure Ayrshire cattle.

The verpachters became, in the course of the French revolutionary wars, a wealthy class, not unfrequently buying, in association with capitalists of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen, who sought a safe investment of capital, the estates they came to farm. They are not a popular class among the peasantry, being strangers, or descendants of strangers, not connected with them, and, as farmers, more enterprising, successful, and wealthy. They are strenuous partisans of the German or "Schleswig-Holstein" cause, and have an hereditary animosity to the Danish government, from the legal protection given to the small cottagers, the former serfs, on the verpachters' farms, against all attempts to impose on them any of the burdens of their former condition. The verpachters have much influence with the town and village populations of tradesmen, shopkeepers, and others, who depend upon them; and upon the clergy, lawyers, functionaries, and other university-bred people, who

are all imbued with enthusiasm for the vision of a great and glorious German "Vaterland."

It cannot be said that any class in the five or six hundred thousand inhabitants of Holstein and Sleswick — labourers, cottars, small proprietors, verpachters, or large landowners, — had any real grievance or oppression to throw off in their own social condition when their insurrection broke out in March 1848. They were unquestionably better off than the inhabitants of any other part of Germany, and the provisional government then established neither stated any evil nor proposed any reform in their material condition. Few individuals, and certainly no class, were living in destitution of the necessaries of life. Taxes were light, poor-rates trifling, employment abundant in all the ordinary occupations of the people. The military service was much easier than it could have been under the government of the "new Germany," for the landwehr were not sent to serve beyond the limits of their own small provinces, unless when the quota of Holstein was called upon, by the general diet of the German empire established in 1816, to join, as Holstein was a member of the Empire, the contingents of the other members in the north of Germany, for inspection and review. No unnecessary military force was kept up; substitutes were allowed for those who could not serve in person. People were free to come and go through the country without the passport grievance. In many parts of Holstein, as in Ditmarsh, along the Elbe, the Eyder, and on the west coast, the people had the administration of their own affairs in their own hands more entirely than they have in England; for the old institutions, by which the people had a voice in the

management of their local affairs and funds, had been respected during five centuries by their nominally despotic Danish rulers. It would be gratifying if any German writer would name any spot in Germany in which the people enjoyed so much of civil liberty, had the management of their own interests so much in their own hands, had so little to complain of from the acts of their government, and were so generally well off. What then were the causes that the agitation, which had been fermenting in Germany since the peace of 1816, should break out here, where there was least to complain of, into insurrection and war? The question requires a chapter for itself to bring out an answer.

CHAP. IV.

CAUSES OF THE INSURRECTION IN HOLSTEIN. — EXCESS OF AN IDLE, OVER-EDUCATED CLASS EXPECTANT ON FUNCTIONS. — INFLUENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KIEL — ITS DIRECT INTEREST IN THE ANNEXATION OF SLESWICK TO HOLSTEIN. — TREACHERY OF THE AUGUSTENBURG FAMILY — THEIR DIRECT INTEREST IN THE ANNEXATION. — HISTORY OF THE INTRIGUES OF THE DUKE OF AUGUSTENBURG. — DISAPPOINTED HOPES OF SUCCESSION TO THE DANISH CROWN — TO THE SWEDISH CROWN. — THE DUKE A NEWSPAPER WRITER. — PROPOSAL TO BRIBE "THE TIMES" TO WRITE IN HIS FAVOUR. — LIEDERTAFFELN. — CONFIDENCE OF THE DANISH GOVERNMENT IN THE DUKE'S BROTHER, THE PRINCE OF AUGUSTENBURG NOER. — HE SEDUCES THE TROOPS BY A FORGED NEWSPAPER. — SEIZES THE FORTRESS OF RENDSBURG. — THE DUCHY OF SLESWICK WAS GUARANTEED TO THE CROWN OF DENMARK BY A TREATY SIGNED BY ENGLAND AND FRANCE ON THE 16TH OF APRIL, 1727. — WHY ENGLAND ALLOWED THE INVASION OF SLESWICK. — GERMAN INFLUENCE IN THE BRITISH CABINET.

In this small population of Holstein and Sleswick (neither of the two duchies exceeding in population one of our larger counties, such as Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk) the proportion of a class described in a former Note as the unemployable, is very great. The sons of professors, clergy, and civil functionaries, who had studied at the university of Kiel, had taken a degree, and had thus qualified themselves to be candidates for office, and were hanging about idle at home in the hope of an appointment, were numerous enough to have filled every vacancy ten times over. The sons of the class of verpachters, of the class of small proprietors or yeomen, of lawyers, doctors, shopkeepers, tradesmen, of all in short whose capital or business could at the utmost only provide for one of the family, and could not be divided without ruin

to the whole, were necessarily added, at the end of each session of the university, to the numbers already expectant on office for a living, there being no manufactures, commerce, or colonies to absorb the surplus youths of these classes. They were accumulating from session to session of the university in numbers, and their discontent naturally increased with their numbers and the diminished prospect of any employment. They are a desperate and dangerous class; and yet the continental governments appear to foster and encourage this class above all others, by their social arrangements and institutions. It has been reckoned, or conjectured, that on the Continent in general, taking civil, military, and educational functionaries, the clergy, schoolmasters, and professors being included under the latter denomination, and taking all the financial, legal, and police officers, there are for every thousand of the total population, men, women, and children, sixty adult men living by office, place, or appointment under government. This may be no exaggerated view if we consider that, besides the regular functionaries in every parish, village, or other locality, who are paid directly by government, there is a very great class of licensed practitioners in every profession and branch of industry, such as the schoolmaster, lawyer, surgeon, apothecary, midwife, farrier, shopkeeper, who have a government license and appointment to a monopoly of their trades, or means of living, in their respective districts. They are, in reality, civil functionaries paid by the people, and living on them, as much as if they were functionaries paid directly out of the taxes. They hold offices to which government alone can appoint them. A regiment of a thousand men has

not so many officers as every thousand of the men, women, and children, of the civil population of the Continent has, to manage, superintend, and interfere in their affairs. Holstein, a rich agricultural country, with landed property much divided, held under various tenures, and subject to many local jurisdictions, was more fruitful in offices, and candidates, perhaps, than any other district of Germany. The class of lawyers was particularly numerous and overfilled. A great number of unemployed candidates for office, living in penury, without any hope of business in the law or appointment in the church, or in any department of government, and their numbers, poverty, and discontent, yearly increasing, is naturally a class always ripe for revolution and change. They could speculate, theorise, and agitate through the press, and, in the hands of the professors of the German universities, they were the principal tools and working agents in the "Schleswig-Holstein" movement.

To these expectants on office, and their families, and friends, here in Holstein, the annexation of the duchy of Sleswick with its three hundred thousand inhabitants, to the duchy of Holstein with its three hundred thousand, as a part of the German empire, would be doubling the number of offices they have been so long waiting for, and with few competitors from the Sleswick youth for those offices, as two thirds of the Sleswick population speak Danish only, and of the other third, speaking German in the Platt Deutsch form, one third only, it is reckoned, know the cultivated German language sufficiently to study at a German university without beginning to learn the language grammatically before attending the lectures. Flendsburg, also, is a flourishing town,

second only to Copenhagen in commercial importance, with a considerable trade to the Danish West India Islands, and to South America, with some manufactures, and a great many shipping of the first class in the carrying trade and the Greenland fisheries, and employs many of the youth, either abroad or at home, who in Holstein would be studying metaphysics and waiting for a place. It was an object of great importance to the university of Kiel, that the examinations, and thereby the patronage, of candidates for offices in Sleswick, should be taken from the university of Copenhagen, and transferred to that of Kiel, because it was a step forwards both to its own advantage, and to that of the great cause for which all the German universities were banded together, and had been inculcating, since 1816, in the minds of their students, — that of extending a German government of literary and philosophic statesmen from the academical chairs, over every country using the German tongue, or inhabited by the German race. The German press, even now, when the vision of such a "new Germany" has nearly vanished, teems with pamphlets and newspaper paragraphs, on the right of functionaries bred at the German university of Kiel, to fill the offices in the courts of law, the pulpits, and the schools, of a country of which two thirds of the people do not understand German, and speak Danish only. They represent it as an act of tyranny and oppression, that the German clergymen, schoolmasters, and functionaries, appointed by the Duke of Augustenburg, and his brother the Prince of Augustenburg Noer while he was stadtholder of the two duchies, and carried on the insane attempt to suppress the Danish language in Sleswick, have been dismissed by the Danish government, and replaced

by judges, law-officers, ministers, and schoolmasters, who could speak the language of the people. These writers take care to conceal from the public they attempt to deceive, — the fact that property, land, inheritance, and civil and criminal law in all Sleswick up to the Eyder, stand under the ancient code of Jutland laws given in the Lovbog of King Waldeman II., and under the laws and decisions of the Sleswick courts, subsequently added, and that these are different from the civil law or the German law. The appeal in law questions in the duchy of Sleswick has always been to its own supreme court, never to the supreme court for all the members of the German empire, formerly sitting at Wetzlar. Holstein, as part of the German empire, had her final court of appeal in Germany, at Wetzlar, in common with other principalities held of old from the emperors of Germany as their feudal chiefs. The duchy of Sleswick, held of the Danish crown, was never called to a German diet, as part of the empire, — was not represented even in the diet of 1816, where the most trifling and inconsiderable states and towns of the old empire were represented. The term "Schleswig-Holstein" is a combination of words unheard of before the late insurrection, and as incongruous with any existing relations, or any that ever existed between the two provinces, their populations, property, laws, or languages, as Yorkshire-Holstein, or United-States-Holstein. In the United States there are more Germans, or people of German descent, speaking the German tongue, than in the duchy of Sleswick. Are the states, that of Philadelphia, for instance, or of New York, in which these American Germans are settled in great numbers, and occupy districts vastly more

extensive than the duchy of Sleswick, to be ruled, both the German and American or English inhabitants, by German functionaries, and German law? Are they to be parts, members, colonies, of the one united, centralised, new German government extending of right over all of German race and tongue? The absurd affirmative cannot be avoided, if the principles and claims of the Frankfort Parliament had been carried out to their legitimate conclusion.

Another main cause of the insurrection breaking out in Holstein and in the Germanised portion of Sleswick was, that here the German cause found a leader, or rather a led-chief, of eminent station, in the Duke of Augustenburg, the supposed legal successor to the duchy of Holstein on the demise, without heirs male, of the present duke, the king of Denmark. The kingdom of Denmark, including the duchy of Sleswick, may, by the Danish law of succession, descend to heirs female and their posterity. The duchy of Holstein, being a male fief of the German empire, can only pass to heirs male, by German law. Heirs female and their descendants are excluded. Lawyers of eminence differ on the question whether, on the extinction of the male line in the present king-duke, the succession would go, even by German law, to the Augustenburg branch entirely, or whether it would not fall to be divided between the Oldenburg, the Glucksburg, and the Augustenburg branches. Some even maintain that the Duke of Augustenburg, by his marriage with a lady of high but not of a reigning family, and not *ebenburdig*, or of equal birth, has incurred what in Scotch law would be called an irritancy of the entail, or family law of succession, excluding both

himself and his children, by German law, from the succession. But supposing the succession did pass unquestioned, entire, and undivided, to the Duke of Augustenburg, what is there to succeed to? Very little but the empty title. The old domains and estates have been alienated by sales, many generations ago, to small proprietors, and the ducal state and dignity could only be supported by taxes which the people would very unwillingly grant or pay. The Augustenburg family have large entailed estates, now or lately held by the duke; but these are all situated in the duchy of Sleswick, are of recent acquisition by purchases at various times, are held, like other estates in Sleswick, under the Danish crown and Danish law. The Duke of Augustenburg, on succeeding to the duchy of Holstein as an independent reigning prince of the German empire, would stand in the awkward position of having the bulk of his estates and revenues under a foreign jurisdiction, and subject to the Danish laws, taxes, and regulations, independent of him as a sovereign; and himself, although a reigning sovereign, the subject, in fact, of another sovereign, and the people upon his estates, supposed to be about 15,000, subjects of the Danish crown. When the prospect, at one period supposed to be near, of his succeeding, through female descent, to the Danish crown, vanished by the birth of male heirs and by the intervention of a marriage bringing the female line of succession into the ducal family of Hesse, instead of the Augustenburg line, it became the main object and interest of the Duke of Augustenburg to work out, by the influence of the German party and the press, and even by insurrection and an unprincipled and bloody war, the annexation of the

duchy of Sleswick to the duchy of Holstein. Hence arose the "Schleswig-Holstein" war and war-cry. As far as material interests instigated the movement, none but those of the duke, of the professors of the University of Kiel, and of the idle expectants on office or on promotion to higher office, had any advantage to gain. They fanned the flame they had kindled in the enthusiastic minds of the German youth; and by deceptions, misrepresentations of facts, appeals to their feelings and patriotism, through the press and the sister Universities, and by music, poetry, oratory,—by all that can lead schoolboys into the battle field,—they kept up for three years anexcitement which only expired with its victims at the battles of Idstedt and Frederickstadt.

The part played by the Duke of Augustenburg, and his brother the Prince of Augustenburg-Noer, in the insurrection in Holstein, has been so important; the retribution for acts and conduct, which, in former times, would have brought these noblemen to the scaffold as traitors, has been so complete and just, and so much more severe than legal punishment could have inflicted, and so visibly the retribution of Providence for treachery, ingratitude, deceit and moral guilt in political action, that it is due to the English reader to give him other views than he will find in the deceptions of the German press, and to enable him to apply the true test of right or wrong to the principles, proceedings, motives, and characters of these noble personages and of the other leaders and instigators of the bloody "Holstein-Schleswig" tragedy.

In 1786, the father of the present Duke of Augustenburg married Louisa Augusta, the sister of

Frederick VI. The king was unmarried. The hereditary prince, his uncle, had been married eleven years without having children, and then had two or three in succession who died almost as soon as they were born. The succession of the Duchess of Augustenburg to her brother's throne appeared certain; but, before the end of the first year of her marriage, the consort of her uncle, the hereditary prince, produced another son, who escaped the early fate of her former infants. In 1790, the king himself, Frederick VI., married, and next year had a son who only lived, however, for a day or two to disturb the royal visions of Louisa Augusta. But her own marriage was still childless. It was only in 1796 that she had a daughter, and in the course of the following four years she had three sons. The hereditary prince, in the meantime, had lost his spouse. Frederick VI. had lost another son soon after his birth, and there were only the sickly hereditary prince and his two children between the Danish throne and the succession of the Augustenburg family through the female line. Hopes were revived which the ordinary chances of life would scarcely allow, if the extraordinary mortality in the Danish royal family did not almost justify them; and the sons of the duke and duchess grew up amidst approaching and receding visions of a future throne. The nearest approach of this vision to reality came from Sweden. The late duke's brother, Christian August, was commander-in-chief of the Danish army which defended Norway against the Swedish army on the frontier, immediately before Gustavus IV. was deposed by the officers of those troops, and his uncle Charles XIII. placed on the throne of Sweden. The Swedish troops had retired

from the frontier to depose their sovereign; and Prince Christian August of Augustenburg, instead of advancing at this crisis, and in spite of repeated orders from Copenhagen to advance, made a secret agreement with the Swedish commander, and the chiefs of the conspiracy to dethrone Gustavus, not to commence military operations against the Swedish army without giving them notice, and to remain quiescent for a certain time. This passive commander-in-chief did not return to Denmark to justify his conduct to the Government, but was rewarded in Sweden for his opportune inaction, which enabled the conspirators to depose Gustavus IV., and place the crown on the head of his uncle the Duke of Sudermania, as Charles XIII. Prince Christian August was chosen successor to the aged traitor Charles XIII.; but he died soon after. His elder brother, the late Duke of Augustenburg, was then proposed as the successor to the throne on the death of Charles XIII., and, at first, had a majority of the Swedish diet and the king himself in his favour. But, from some mismanagement of the duke and his friends in this intrigue, the party of Bernadotte prevailed, and this vision also vanished. On the death of their father, the present duke, and his brother, the Prince of Augustenburg Noer*, reared in such expectations of royalty, fed upon such high hopes, the sceptre almost within their father's grasp, a crown almost touching his brows, had to learn that these hopes and expectations could never be realised; that it was a dissolving view

* In Germany all the younger sons of dukes (who with us would only be honourables or lords by courtesy) are called princes — and their children also. Thence the swarm of German princes of unheard of, and invisible territories, who buz about the Court at St. James's.

of royalty that had appeared before their eyes,—a phantasmagoric throne that had tantalised them, and had finally vanished. The Danish crown had male heirs, and the succession by female heirs, if the male should fail, had passed, in the new generation, by a later marriage of a sister of a reigning king with a prince of Hesse, into a new line. It is interesting to trace human action to its earliest springs and sources in the human mind. On the flight of the Duke of Augustenburg from his palace in the Isle of Als, to join the insurgents at Kiel, in March, 1848, a mass of papers, letters, and other documents, fell into the hands of the Danish troops sent to garrison that island, and were transmitted to the Danish Government. Dr. Wegener, keeper of Royal Archives at Copenhagen, published, by authority of Government, the correspondence. In the letters of Louisa Augusta may be traced the longing after royal dignity. She even writes her son to retain the arms of Norway in his shield, although the king had dropped the quarterings in the royal arms, symbolical of Norway, "for their family had not renounced the Norwegian crown."

This correspondence proves that the duke and his brother were the original instigators of the agitation and insurrection in Holstein. It discloses the machinery and agency by which they had been, for several years, endeavouring, through the newspaper press, to familiarise the public mind, abroad and at home, with the idea that Sleswick was a part of the German empire, was inseparable from Holstein, and that both belonged of right to the Duke of Augustenburg. The use of the German language in Sleswick was stated to be universal, and the hardship of

having law, religion, and knowledge administered in any other than the German tongue, was the daily theme of the newspaper paragraphs. It was assumed that Danish was a barbarous dialect, without a literature; that a great majority of the people of Sleswick understood and used German only, and not Danish; and that Germany extended, of right, over every people of Teutonic race and tongue. The efforts of the duke to realise the assumed diffusion of the German tongue in Sleswick would appear an unaccountable and incredible animosity to the Danish language, a kind of monomania of the distinguished personage, if the object of annexing the duchy of Sleswick and his own Sleswick estates to the duchy of Holstein, to which he is next heir, did not explain the motive of this crusade against the mother tongue of three-fourths of the population. In parishes in which Danish alone was understood, the duke and his brother, who was stadtholder of the two duchies, placed ministers, schoolmasters, and local judges in the inferior courts, who spoke German only. The duke had even declared openly, that he would not appoint a minister or a doctor who spoke Danish, to any vacancy on his estates, although the people speak Danish only in that part of Sleswick. His brother-in-law, it appears by this correspondence, remonstrated with him on the impolicy of this war against the language of the country. Dr. Wegener's publication is heavy reading to us who take little interest in the petty local affairs of the Continent, and also because it consists of the documents themselves *in extenso*, as historical evidence for future generations. It is curious, however, to read a correspondence proving a long and systematic struggle to impose the

German language upon the population of Sleswick, and to represent to the rest of Europe that Sleswick was inseparable from Holstein, and that "Schleswig-Holstein" was one country, and a part of the German "Vaterland." The duke himself was an indefatigable writer of leading articles in the provincial newspapers, in favour of his views and claims. The "Itzehoe Wochenblad," the "Altonaer Merkur," and others of equal renown, teemed with his paragraphs. He attempted to establish a German newspaper in the north of Sleswick, to enlighten the Danish population; but it failed, the editor says, from want of a public who understood German. Another editor to whom the duke paid a sum yearly for the insertion of all his articles, complains that he has been ruined by the bargain, the spirit of the duke's articles, and the absurd animosity to the Danish language and state, having reduced a flourishing list of subscribers to nothing. The public will not buy his paper, he says, on account of these unpopular articles, and he, and afterwards his widow, claims compensation from the duke. The duke appears by this correspondence to have worked harder for the provincial newspapers in promotion of his object, than many a penny-a-liner of the London newspaper press for his daily bread, and to have practised all the little tricks of anonymous writers to get their articles inserted without being known as the authors, and to have undergone the mortification, sometimes, of having his articles rejected by the country editor as too unpopular, in subject and spirit, for his readers. The duke's newspaper ambition was not confined to the obscure provincial press, but aspired to the columns of the great European journals,—the Augs-

burg "Allgemeine Zeitung," the "Journal des Débats," and "The Times." He proposed to bribe the latter to support his cause. The duke little knew that "The Times" is more able to buy his duchy than he to bribe "The Times." It appears, in this correspondence, that one of the contributors to "The Times" offers to follow a "mot d'ordre" from the duke, and to procure the insertion in that journal, from time to time, of leading articles in its spirit, and promoting his views; but the "mot d'ordre" never produced the expected article in our great leading newspaper. Its honesty, as well as its great ability in representing continental politics during the agitations of the last three years on the Continent, is highly honourable to the country, as well as to the conductors of this influential journal. The duke not only wrote paragraphs and pamphlets, but employed two able lawyers to write them, in support of the annexation of the duchy of Sleswick to the duchy of Holstein, and of the duke's right to the undivided succession to this new German state of "Schleswig-Holstein." They were sent to England to propagate their views on the subject, and most of our members of parliament, and people of any political weight or note, were favoured with a circular letter, in very good English, containing a summary of the one-sided lucubrations of Messrs. Droysen and Samwer. But the English are a practical people, taking little interest in antiquarian researches into the affairs of the fifteen or sixteenth century, and the few who examined the question stopped at the solemn treaty of 1727, by which France, England and Russia expressly guaranteed the possession of the duchy of Sleswick to the Danish crown, and at the acquiescence

of every German diet since that period, the diet of 1816 included, in that treaty. The English people could not be made "Schleswig-Holsteiners."

Next to the press, the great means of propagating the cause of the "New Germany," and of "Schleswig-Holstein," were the musical associations called "liedertafeln," or catch-clubs. These were bands of amateur musical performers and songsters, formed in every town and village originally for the amusement of themselves and their neighbours, but which became political rather than musical meetings. They went in processions, with banners and emblems, from town to town, and met often in distant towns in the interior of Germany, at festivals in which speeches, songs, and toasts in favour of the new "Vaterland," and of "Schleswig-Holstein," were not wanting; and it appears from this correspondence, that the Duke furnished a new coat of arms for his new state of "Schleswig-Holstein," and his daughters embroidered it on a silk banner, which was carried in procession by a liedertafel he had established in his Sleswick estates, into the interior of Germany, to Würzburg, in August, 1845, to fraternize with political societies there.

The Danish Government was so ignorant of, or so blind to the proceedings of the Augustenburg family in the duchies, that the duke's brother, the Prince of of Augustenburg Noer, was appointed stadtholder and commander-in-chief of Holstein and Sleswick. He was only superseded a few months before the insurrection broke out. The clamour of the people of Sleswick, that their schools, pulpits, and courts of justice were filled with persons who could not speak the language of the country, and were ignorant of its

laws, forced upon the notice of the Government the want of judgment, if not of fidelity, in the Augustenburg stadtholder. The prince was the most intimate personal friend, as well as relative, of the king. They addressed each other in their letters, not only as equals, but with the familiar *Du*, instead of *Sie*, the endearing expression in German and Danish social life, of mutual and equal affection, love, and friendship. It would require a great and good cause to hide the moral guilt of breaking the tie in German life implied by the expression *Du*, between man and man.

On the 24th March, 1848, the insurrectionary flame kindled in Paris reached Holstein. A provisional government for "Schleswig-Holstein" constituted itself at Kiel. The Prince of Augustenburg Noer hastened thither, and persuaded the men and most of the officers of the 5th Jager corps, quartered there, to join him, and go by the railway to Rendsburg, and take possession of that fortress for the king. It was not for a German "Vaterland," or a new state of "Schleswig-Holstein," that these troops followed the prince. He issued a proclamation, calling on the soldiery and the people to follow him and deliver their king, who, he stated, had been made prisoner by a democratic party at Copenhagen, and was now a captive in their hands. The same deception was practised upon the parade at Rendsburg. The prince addressed the garrison, and called on them to join him for the rescue of their king. Some of the officers stepped out of the ranks, and expressed their doubts of the truth of the prince's intelligence, as they had received recent letters from Copenhagen which mentioned nothing of a democratic party, or

of the captivity of the king, and proposed to the men to hold the fortress, and wait the arrival of the post. The prince pulled out of his pocket a printed newspaper, composed and printed, according to Dr. Wegener, by the prince's orders, and with his perfect consciousness and knowledge that it was a fabrication of his own, purporting to be a Stettin newspaper, containing intelligence received as it was going to press, by a ship from Copenhagen, that the king had been made prisoner by a democratic party. The garrison could not doubt the honour and truth of a prince, so lately the stadtholder and their commander-in-chief, and still an officer of the highest rank in the service, and a near relative and personal friend of the king. They gave up to him the command of the fortress, and joined the regiment he had brought from Kiel. The duke, in the meantime, had left Augustenburg, and repaired by railway from Kiel to Berlin, where he received the permission of the King of Prussia to raise, and send by the railway, a free corps of the students and enthusiasts eager to fight for the German "Vaterland," and the "Schleswig-Holstein" cause. Volunteers arrived at Rendsburg in crowds in the course of a few days. To cover the treachery of the Prince of Augustenburg Noer, the deception of the king being a prisoner in Copenhagen was kept up to the very last; and the Provisional Government and stadtholdership continued in their proclamations to hold out to the peasantry of Holstein, who were the kernel of their army, that the war was for the deliverance of their king-duke. A common German "Vaterland" was an idea new and unknown to this class. A very large proportion of them really believed they were called out for the

rescue of their sovereign; and a still larger were brought into the field by conscription, — by levies of men raised and embodied by the authority of the provisional existing Government, without regard to the sentiments of the individual. Such people could not be treated as rebels.

The duke and the prince followed the insurrectionary army, the latter holding a high, but nominal appointment in it. They had raised a storm which they could not allay or guide, and fell into utter insignificance. They, and their claims, would have been rejected, even if the war had been successful, and Sleswick had been conquered and united to Holstein, as part of the German "Vaterland." The Frankfort parliament would have retained it as a domain acquired by conquest, and necessary to support the dignity of the new central government of the "Vaterland;" or Prussia would have seized it, as a desirable addition to her territory, and have mediatised the duke of this new state of "Schleswig-Holstein." There is a satisfaction, which cannot be called a malignant pleasure, in seeing a false ambition, and unprincipled political action, working its own ruin, and its measures turning out the very means of its disappointment and punishment.

It was in Sleswick and Holstein that the great movement in Germany, in 1848, and the three subsequent years, found a vent. This country was the crater of the volcano. Here it raged, and exhausted itself in a bloody war. Theory and speculation agitated the public mind in other parts of Germany, and produced bloody street tumults, barricades, panic among governments, and inapplicable schemes, paper-constitutions, and ground laws contradicting each

other, among the philosophers, professors, and literary statesmen assembled at Frankfort. But at Kiel theory and speculation were brought into actual and regular war, by traitors who had seized the principal fortress of the country, and were supported to the last by Prussia, with officers, artillery, men, money, and all that an army requires. The future historian of this period will ask what was England doing during the three years in which this bloody war was raging for the possession of the duchy of Sleswick? England was negociating! But what was there to negociate about? England and France, at the peace concluded in 1720, guaranteed to Frederick IV. of Denmark the whole duchy of Sleswick as it then stood, and bound themselves to defend his right to it against all who, directly or indirectly, should invade it. And seven years later, on the 16th of April, 1727, a special treaty was signed by the two powers, France and England, and to which Russia acceded, binding themselves to oppose with an armed force, by sea and by land, all and sundry the powers who should attack the duchy of Sleswick. This treaty of 1727 appears as if made expressly to meet the circumstances of 1848, and the three following years; and treaties and guarantees between nations are but waste paper, if this solemn compact between France, England, and Denmark was not acted upon. The Prussian army had invaded Sleswick, had penetrated into Jutland, and was only forced to retreat by the Danish force, unsupported by the pledged allies of Denmark, accumulating in the Isle of Als, and threatening its rear. The historian will ask, why was not a British squadron sent to the Baltic, instead of lying idle in the Tagus or in the Mediterranean, to support

our guarantee? A public demonstration to Europe ought to have shown that there was such a treaty and guarantee, that it was acknowledged, and that England, for her own honour, would maintain it. Russia sent a squadron to the Bay of Kiel, to show her readiness to maintain her similar guarantee of Sleswick to Denmark. The British cabinet was negociating for three years, to prevent the effusion of blood, while every day of those three years was marked by bloodshed in the country which England was bound by treaty to protect from all invasion. There is no room for negociation about the fulfilment of a negociated and concluded bargain, treaty, or guarantee between sovereigns. Negociation belongs to the terms, not to the fulfilment of terms agreed upon between nations. The British cabinet is guilty of the bloodshed of these three years in Sleswick, — 1848, 49, and 50.

The future historian will ask, what were the secret influences which paralysed the British cabinet, and prevented our ministers from acting with the decision and promptitude which humanity, as well as our national honour, and the sound policy of maintaining treaties, demanded. Here, on the Continent, men have no hesitation in saying that Lord Palmerston was swayed, naturally and necessarily, by the wish and the political necessity in his situation, of doing nothing very disagreeable to Prince Albert and the petty German princely families who at that time surrounded the throne, and appeared to constitute the British court: that the Royal Consort, a good, amiable, kind-hearted German prince, bred in the very focus of Germanism, at the university of Bonn, could not but be favourably disposed to the German or Prussian

cause, — that it would have been inconsistent with his education, character, feelings and tastes, if he had not, — and that to this influence must be ascribed the want of energy and sound policy in the British cabinet, and the deep stain on our national honour. The country cannot be too jealous, whatever ministry may be in power, of a Prussian or German influence in the cabinet.

CHAP. V.

LITERARY MEN NOT THE MOST CAPABLE OF CONDUCTING STATE AFFAIRS. — THE LITERARY POWER IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY THE COUNTERPART OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL POWER IN THE MIDDLE AGES. — RULES BY THE SAME AGENCY, VIZ., THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE. — ITS FIRST DEBUT, THE GERMAN MOVEMENT OF 1848, NOT PROMISING. — ITS DEMORALISING SYSTEM OF SPREADING DELIBERATE FALSEHOODS THROUGH THE PRESS TO EXCITE THE PEOPLE. — INSTANCES FROM PROFESSOR VENEDEY'S "SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN" OF THIS ABUSE OF THE PRESS. — FALSE AMBITION OF THE LITERARY POWER IN THE FRANKFORT PARLIAMENT. — ITS CONSEQUENCES NOW. — DEMORALISATION OF THE PUBLIC MIND BY THE FALSE THEORIES AND STATEMENTS OF THE LITERARY POWER. — GENERAL WILLISEN. — FALSE IMPUTATIONS. — PSEUDO-PATRIOTS. — PROFESSOR ARNDT, FATHER OF THE MOVEMENT, NOT A GERMAN. — INCONSISTENCIES IN THE GRUNDRECHTE. — PROFESSOR DAHLMANN. — LOW MORAL STANDARD OF THE LITERARY POWER — DECEPTION.

We sometimes find in our newspapers and other periodical publications the gentle insinuation, or modest complaint, that literary men in England do not receive the social consideration, political influence, and pecuniary reward, or provision from the state, which they deserve, and which they enjoy on the Continent. We see few or no places, and none of importance, and few and scanty pensions bestowed on our literary men. Our poets, historians, and philosophers live and die at their own expense, without public aid. We have no Royal Academy with its pensioned members. We do not take our members of parliament, our prime ministers, ambassadors, or high functionaries, from the body of our great political writers, philosophers, or professors at our Universities. In France and Germany, how many literary men,

Thiers, Guizot, Lamartine, Dahlmann, Arndt, Venedey, and a host of others, have been sent to the parliaments of those countries, and placed by the unanimous voice of the people at the helm of the state to guide the public affairs, solely on account of their literary merits. With us, men of much higher talents and more statesmanlike views, and with whom these could not venture to break a lance in the fields of literature, philosophy, and political economy, languish in the obscurity of their lodgings, writing articles for the columns of The Times, of the Edinburgh or Quarterly Review, or our other eminent periodical journals, which surpass, in reasoning powers, just views, and extensive knowledge of all the social and political interests of mankind, all that those continental writers ever produced, or are capable of producing! Is this a social evil, or only an evil to the class of our literary men? Have the French and German philosophers and authors conducted successfully, wisely, with good sense, prudence, and judgment, the great public interests and affairs entrusted to them in 1848, 49, and 50, on account of their literary and intellectual eminence, or have they failed, as completely as ordinary mortals, in steering their governments through the storms which, in Germany at least, they had conjured up themselves? The results show that the mind formed in literary pursuits is not the best prepared to deal with men and realities in social economy or in affairs of state. It is not a matter of course that the eminent literary man, philosopher, professor, or author must be a good minister of state, or a great financier, or even a man of practical views, unshaken steadiness, and of reliability and political honesty.

The history of Germany and France, since 1848, has not raised the character of literary men in the field of politics, or proved that they are not in their right places in their libraries and class rooms.

The future historian of the first half of the nineteenth century will find a remarkable similarity in principle, progress, and social influence over public and private affairs between the power of the Press in our times and the power of the Church in the middle ages. Ecclesiastical power is almost extinct as an active element in the political or social affairs of nations or of individuals, in the cabinet or in the family circle, and a new element, literary power, is taking its place in the government of the world. In the early history of the Church of Rome, we see pope arrayed against pope, ecclesiastical authority against lay authority, in temporal as well as spiritual affairs, monastic orders against secular clergy, one order of monks against another, and all the clerical men, popes, bishops, abbots, priests, monks, quarrelling, denouncing, excommunicating each other; yet all, as by a common instinctive impulse, working together for the elevation of the ecclesiastical power to be the governing power in society, to be the head and hand of all social and political action. There was no conspiracy, no combination, no secret society carried on from age to age, for promoting ecclesiastical power. It was a common tendency given by the educational means being centralised in the Church, to all the educated, influential, governing classes, whether lay or clerical, and however discordant among themselves, to act and work for the aggrandisement of the Church, and for the extension of ecclesiastical influence. The same spirit and the

same means, viz. the exclusive education of the people, are raising the new power on the Continent, the literary power, to the same place and social influence as the ecclesiastical power possessed. The classes and individuals of this new power, the philosophers, professors, teachers, public functionaries, authors, and educated or literary men of every station, are not less divided among themselves, less discordant, or less virulent against each other, than were the members of the Church of Rome during the fifteen centuries of its steady advance towards a predominance in all social and political action. They are all, however, united and imbued, by their education, with one common doctrine—that literary men ought to govern the world. The superstition of literature, however, wants the unity which the superstition of religion had from acknowledging a supreme head of the Church at Rome whom all were taught to obey. Literature has no popes whose decisions are implicitly received by all. The ecclesiastical power had also an advantage which this new literary power wants. The members had learnt to obey before they attained positions in their hierarchy, from which they were called upon to command. They had gone through a school of worldly wisdom. But the continental literary man starts from his library chair, or his class room, without any other preparation, experience, or knowledge of the great interests and influences which rule society than he has gathered from books, or from his own imagination, or from the small affairs of some university-town, the capital, perhaps, of some petty German state. He takes his seat, with this preparation and experience, on the benches of a constituent and

legislative assembly which proposes to lay down one constitution, government, ground-law, and social arrangement for forty millions of people inhabiting countries widely apart from each other, with no need of each other, no intercourse or interchange of industry for industry with each other, each producing within itself all it requires, and with no common interests, feelings, or prejudices. To unite these populations so distinct in situation, character, temperament, interests and historical antecedents, and in all that distinguishes nation from nation, into one empire governed by a parliament and cabinet of its leaders and disciples, has been the first great political essay of the literary power in Germany. It has turned out a failure. The common sense of the many, of the great mass of the forty millions, could not be brought to believe that a common race and tongue a thousand years ago—blue eyes, fair skin, and Platt Deutsch—are good and sufficient reasons now for overturning all their existing social and political arrangements, and bringing under one common government, at Frankfort, the inhabitants of countries so little connected by their wants or interests, as the coasts of the Baltic and the Adriatic, or Pomerania and the Tyrol. The great German movement for a common "Vaterland" raised by the literary power in 1848, and which had been in process of being distended and filled with gas since 1816, collapsed and fell to the ground after a short ascent, not so much from pressure or violence from without as from want of the element within—the approbation, the confidence, the breath of the people—to sustain its flight.

The feature, in this first attempt of the literary

power in Germany, the most unpromising of social good from its future action, and the most revolting to the calm, unprejudiced observer of the spirit of the times, is the system of deliberate and premeditated falsehood and deception carried on through the German press, for the purpose of influencing and leading the public mind in favour of its views. The ecclesiastical power, in the darkest period of the middle ages, had always a support in the religious sentiment of the people; its most flagitious acts and aggressions on the rights, political or civil, of the rulers and the ruled, were always covered under the cloak of religion. A true and great principle was the foundation-stone on which its power rested. The literary power has thrown away the only support it had to build upon—the confidence of the people in the honesty and truth of its statements and reasonings. In times of great political excitement, false reasonings, or false statements of real facts, may issue from the press without great delinquency or moral guilt being imputed to the writers, because there is a foundation of truth, although distorted by party spirit; but there is always even then a loss of public confidence. No great political power can obtain any permanent influence in society independently of the great principles of religion, morality, truth, which all men respect. But it appears to be a kind of moral disease among literary men in Germany to write for effect, not for truth, to excite by statements and reasonings, without regard to reality, and to invent and publish as facts the poorest falsehoods which they imagine may serve their cause. The deception mentioned above, coolly and deliberately practised on the soldiery and peasantry of

Holstein, by the Prince of Augustenburg Noer, by a forged newspaper printed, Dr. Wegmer asserts, by the prince's own order, to make them believe that the king was a captive in the hands of an enemy, may be considered by some a clever trick, an allowable *ruse de guerre;* but when the falsehood is coolly and deliberately taken up and repeated by the three stadtholders in their proclamations to induce the people to join their standard after the defeat of their army at Frederickstadt, nearly three years after the falsehood was first used, there is a total disregard of truth and a want of self-respect in men of the highest station, which even the soldiery and peasantry scoffed at. They had seen the captive king riding along the outposts of his army, when their three stadtholders were telling them he was a prisoner at Copenhagen. Moral respect for these rulers was gone. This moral taint extends to the important class who form the public mind in Germany, from infancy to youth and manhood, in the schools, the universities, and by their writings. What are the taught to be, if such be their teachers? Are education, knowledge, literary tastes, intellectual accomplishments, to become deteriorating elements, and influences in society, divesting the cultivated mind of religion, morality, love of truth, fixed principles, self-respect; and forming generations fit only to fill the ranks of a free corps, men acting from impulse, enthusiasm, imagination, without self-restraint, reflection, or judgment? This is the character of the educated youth of Germany and France at the present day — the fruit of the system of national education, — and the tendency of the literary productions which form the public mind and mould its opinions and principles

is to diffuse and perpetuate this character. The debased state of the press in Germany, which has become a machinery in the hands of a demoralised literary body for agitating, getting up an enthusiasm, and serving their own visionary objects without regard to truth or right principle, almost justifies the restrictions on the freedom of the press which the continental powers are adopting. Their existence as governments under any form, constitutional or autocratic, is at stake. The press, the schools, the universities, and all the educational means in the hands of a literary and educational body without religious, moral, or political principles, must demoralise the body of the people it acts upon and professes to instruct, and the result must be agitation, anarchy, revolution upon revolution, and at last a military despotism setting aside all liberty and civilisation, and tolerated for the security of life and property.

These reflections upon the prospects of society in Germany under its educational, literary, and philosophical leaders, have been pressed upon me by the perusal of a work I found at the bookseller's this evening — "Schleswig-Holstein im Jahre 1850, ein Tagebuch von J. Venedey, Leipsic 1851." I wished to collect the works considered the best, and which hereafter will be considered historical authorities, relative to the war in Sleswick. Professor Venedey is no obscure man, but a very distinguished ex-member of the Frankfort Parliament, known throughout Germany by his political writings, and a fair type or representative of the literary class who have formed the public mind in Germany upon the "Schleswig-Holstein" cause. He came to the head quarters of its army at Rendsburg, immediately before the battle

of Idstedt, as he tells us in his Tagebuch or diary, to offer his services — the service of his pen, not of his sword — to General Willisen, the Commander-in-chief, and to M. Besseler, a Mecklenburg gentleman with no property or interest in Holstein, or Sleswick, but, nevertheless, one of the stadtholders appointed by the Frankfort Parliament to govern the new state "Schleswig-Holstein." Professor Venedey's letters and applications appear to have been received coldly, and neglected, or treated with ridicule and contempt. Officers, in fact, and not professors or philosophers, were wanted in the army; and the general showed no desire to mount a literary aide-de-camp, author, and critic, to ride in his suite. The Professor must, by his own account, have been in a tolerably ridiculous position as a kind of military Paul Pry standing on tiptoe on the hillocks to catch a sight of the distant smoke of the artillery, without horse or attendant, and without business, appointment, or recognition in the army. After the final defeat of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army in the attempt to storm the petty town of Frederickstadt on the 4th of October, 1850, collections were made throughout Germany to relieve the widows and families of those who had fallen in that unnecessary and bloody attack. A letter appeared in a popular newspaper published at Altona, subscribed "Caroline B—— and Maria Ann D—— born B——," dated St. Annen, near Frederickstadt, the 6th of October 1850, representing their misfortunes, and calling for aid, in their distressed circumstances, from the patriotic and charitable ladies of the "Vaterland," and stating that her eldest son (Caroline B——'s) was killed, her second son was missing, and her son-in-law, the husband of her

daughter, Maria Anne D—— born B——, was lying in a neighbouring village with his leg shattered to pieces. This letter was inserted in the Zeitung für Norddeutschland. The German people, especially the females, are very compassionate, and the lamentable case of this family met with great sympathy. In the course of a few days the editor of the newspaper, Dr. Frese, received and transmitted to Professor Venedey, from whom he had received the letter of Caroline B—— and Maria Ann D——, 200 dollars from a ladies' society in Hildesheim in Hanover, "for the mother who is weeping over her two sons, and the wife who is weeping over her two brothers and her husband, and saw the whole three go out to meet death on the battle-field for the honour of Germany, and for 'Schleswig-Holstein.'" The contribution was accompanied by letters of condolence to the bereaved mother and wife, signed by Eliza Weinhagen and many others of the charitable contributors, the ladies of Hildesheim.

Will it be believed by any literary man, or by any man in England, educated or not educated, that all this was a premeditated fiction, a deception, or as Professor Venedey himself terms it in this "Tagebuch" of his transactions, a deliberate lie invented and published by him for the purpose of exciting the public feeling, which was beginning to evaporate, for the cause of "Schleswig-Holstein," and that there were no such persons as Caroline B—— and her two sons, one killed and one missing, or her daughter Maria Anne D—— born B—— with her husband lying in a neighbouring village with his leg shattered, and that the Professor was not at St. Annen, which is a place in the neighbourhood of Frederickstadt,

but was snug in Altona when he wrote and deliberately published this — it is not necessary to give it the name the Professor himself gives it? Other subscriptions and inquiries coming in, Professor Venedey was obliged to confess the falsehood to Madame Baleman, a benevolent lady at the head of a similar ladies' society to that of Hildesheim, in the town of Kiel, and who, as wife of the Burgomaster, could easily ascertain through the public functionaries then in office, the non-existence of this deplorable family at St. Annen. The money received by the Professor for his Caroline B——, and Maria Ann D—— born B——, was duly handed over to the society at Kiel, for the relief of families of the killed and wounded. Will it be believed that, in giving this account of his fiction, Professor Venedy glories in it, and declares that no result of any thing that ever came from his pen has given him more satisfaction! We have surely in England a different moral standard, a different moral sense from that of literary men in Germany.

It is simply as a specimen of the way in which the press is used in Germany to excite and deceive the public mind, that this anecdote, taken from the Professor's own account, is given. The press in the hands of men eminent for genius, acquirements, and powerful writing, and restrained by no principle, no sense of truth, no feeling of self-respect, or of integrity of character, but applying their talents to raise enthusiasm, and agitate for ill-considered visionary schemes, without regard to right or wrong, truth or falsehood, and all working together as one mind, may be a curse, not a blessing to a country. The press must be honest to be free.

It cannot be concealed that the whole agitation in Germany from 1816, to its outbreak in 1848, has been a delusion acted upon in all sincerity and good faith, by the deluded masses, but founded upon deception practised upon the masses by the literary body through the press, and by their influence as teachers, professors, authors, students, functionaries, lawyers, and clergy. It cannot be denied that the arrangements of the Vienna Congress of 1816, for the future social and political state of Germany, were arbitrary, and unsuitable to the age and to the advanced state of the German people; that the people were defrauded, in Prussia, of the constitutional rights solemnly promised to them by the late king; that throughout all Germany, the people were and are oppressed, and enslaved by the landwehr system, the passport system, the educational system, the functionary system, the interference of government in all social action and civil freedom; and that in every corner of the petty principalities established in 1816, there are crying grievances to be redressed, and laws, institutions, and social arrangements, more adapted to the fourteenth century than the nineteenth, which ought to be abolished or reconstructed. But it was deception to represent to the European public, and inculcate in the German people ignorant of their own country, and adscripti glebæ to their localities by the restraints of the landwehr service, and of the passport system, that they were one homogeneous mass of population thinking and speaking in a common language, and, like the French or English nations, with the same common interests from end to end of the territory they inhabit, and only prevented by the miserable dynastic arrangements of 1816 from being

one great nation with a common "Vaterland." The inhabitants of Germany have common grievances, but not common interests; not even a common language between class and class, country and country, in this visionary "Vaterland." People not naturally connected together by their mutual wants even in adjacent districts, such for instance as Holstein and Hanover, or Mecklenburgh, but, owing to the general identity and sufficiency in each, of the products of their soil and climate, living without intercourse or interchange of industry for industry, cannot, as stated in a former note, be united by common interests into one nation. It was deception to hold out that one united central government, legislative and executive, for all Germany, would be for the well-being and good of the whole German population, and to conceal the obvious result of such a common government, viz., that the landwehr service of the youth of the north of Germany, on the Baltic, or the Rhine, would necessarily be called out to do military duty on the coasts of the Adriatic, in the marshes of the Po, or of the Vistula, and the landwehr of those distant provinces to do duty in the north or west of this visionary empire, and that this alone would be a social evil and grievance, worse than the want of a common united central government for all Germany at Frankfort. Germany as a country, state, or seat of a nation, has no defined limits like England, France, Spain. Some provinces, such as Holstein, Lauenburg, Lemburg, Luxemburg, are within the limits of the old German empire, and are members of the German Bund, or Confederation, but belong to foreign sovereigns, to the king of Denmark and the king of the Netherlands. Other provinces, the great

duchy of Posen, Hungary, Lombardy, and others, belong to German sovereigns, the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria, but were never parts of the German empire, and never used the German laws or language. In the plenitude of its visionary power, the Frankfort Parliament declared that the new German empire which it had the sublime mission to create, should extend over every country of German race and tongue, and over every country subject to German sovereigns. The cause of Poland, the cause of Italy, were ignored. The liberation of Posen, with its three millions of inhabitants of Polish race and tongue, from the Prussian yoke, the independence of Italy, the liberation of Lombardy from the Austrian yoke, were questions discussed on the 22nd of July, 1848, in this inconsistent and ambitious conclave of professors, philosophers, and functionaries. In the course of the discussions, Arnold Ruge, a red-hot democrat and enthusiast, but evidently a sincere and honest man, who has denounced nationalities and religious distinctions as the worst of social evils, and patriotism as a barbarous feeling, and had proposed a Peace Congress, for the settlement of disputes between nations, long before the new apostles of peace, our pacific friends from New York or Manchester, were heard of—extremes meet drolly in our speculative times; the quaker, the red republican, and the manufacturer are dancing a round-about, hand in hand, to an old song of a Peace Congress first sung to our Queen Elizabeth by Sully and Henry the Fourth of France—expressed his wishes for the reconstruction of Poland as an independent state, and his hopes that the independence of Italy might be established, and the Austrian army defeated by the Italian insurgents.

He was called to order by a great and vociferous majority of the Frankfort Parliament, and its president, Von Gageren, declared, amidst shouts of approbation, that "To hope for the defeat of our army in Italy was an act of treason against the new Germany." The reproof of Ruge's unpatriotic speech was re-echoed by the machinery of the press, and not a whisper was heard against the political wisdom and the moral right of the Frankfort Parliament's doctrine, that Poland and Italy should be provinces of the "new Germany." Well! Fortune, as if to give a practical lesson to these philosophers and professors, has so willed it, that their great united Germany has had that done for it by Austria and Prussia, which they, as its constitutional representatives at Frankfort, wished to be done, and declared to be necessary for the full development of the unity, nationality, and grandeur of the "new Germany." Poland has been pacified, Lombardy subdued, and Polish, Italian, Hungarian, Croatian, and Dalmatian soldiers patrole the streets of Hamburg and Lubeck, and occupy Holstein. In common justice and policy, the landwehr citizen of Hamburg or Lubeck must be sent to do the same duty in the streets of Danzig or of Milan, all being parts of the one united "new Germany." The speculations of the literary, philosophic, and professional statesmen of the Frankfort Parliament, have been realised. The schemes and ideas for which all the talents of the literary class in Germany have been agitating the public mind since 1816, until enthusiasm rose to insanity among the deluded people, have been carried into effect. It matters little to the governed, to the common man, whether they have been realised by the cabinets of autocratic monarchs, or by clubs

and committees of a Frankfort Parliament. The practical result to him is the same. He is liable to do military duty in a foreign land which his learned representatives chose to consider part of their visionary empire, while his own village is in the military occupation of a soldiery of foreign race and tongue. Of what can the literary body, who have been deluding themselves and the people of Germany, complain? Their own plans have been realised. What may be the feelings — they are certainly not enviable — of one of those ex-statesmen, as he walks the streets of Hamburgh or Lubeck, and sees, at every corner, the flat Mongolian face and unhorizontal eye-slit of the Sclavonic soldiers, and hears their barbarous unintelligible tongues, and reflects that this is but the result of his own vision of the extent, grandeur, and power of a "new Germany," comprehending all countries subject to German sovereigns, and repudiating all nationalities but its own? This result might be called a just retribution, if the punishment fell only upon the class whose false ambition has been disappointed, and their assumed wisdom proved to be folly. But they have deceived and demoralised the public mind by false theories and false objects, have formed a character in a numerous class, to be led by fancy, by temporary excitement and wild enthusiasm, without reflection, judgment, common sense, or regard for religion, morality, truth, honesty, and these are the fastenings of society. This character goes high up, and is striking roots low down, in the social body in Germany. How high it goes, may be judged from the perfidious policy of the Prussian cabinet in the transactions of the last three years in Holstein and Sleswick. After concluding a separate peace with

Denmark, it is notorious that Prussia continued to furnish not merely men and officers, but artillery, to the insurgent army of "Schleswig-Holstein;" and it would be an indelible blot upon the honour of their royal master if he had been cognisant of it, and is a proof of the demoralised mind even of the highest state functionaries in the highly-educated Prussia, that after the defeat of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army at Frederickstadt, where thirty-two pieces of heavy battering artillery, such as Holstein or Sleswick never produced from their own arsenals, were employed against the Danish garrison, a brigade of heavy guns marked with the Prussian arms, which had been lent to the insurgent army, and had been used against the Danes, notwithstanding the separate peace between Prussia and Denmark, was recognised passing through Hamburgh from the Altona railway station, to be returned by the Berlin railway to its royal owner. It cannot be supposed that his Prussian Majesty ordered, connived at, or at all knew of such an act of perfidy which would cover his name with infamy in all generations. It would be unjust to impute to the sovereign an act of such treachery to his ally committed in the details of his service. But what can be said of the high functionaries of his government who committed, or winked at, a deliberate perfidy which compromised their sovereign's honour, for the sake of promoting their own political cause? Such men in high places are demoralised themselves, and demoralise all below them. The perusal of the many pamphlets which have appeared in Germany on the "Schleswig-Holstein" war, and the causes of its failure, will justify the opinion of the low moral state of the men who instigated and

led the movement. Professor Venedey, whose peculiar views with regard to matters of fact connected with the "Schleswig-Holstein" cause, have been noticed above, and Uffo Horn, a poet of some celebrity, who joined the insurgent army after its defeat at Idstedt, one of the seven hundred volunteers who responded to the call on forty millions of people represented to be enthusiastic in the cause, and who writes a pamphlet—Von Idstedt bis zum Ende, Hamburgh, 1851,—both declare, without reserve, that General Willisen, the commander-in-chief of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army, was a traitor to the cause, and to the troops he commanded, and this opinion is re-echoed by the German press in pamphlets, and newspaper paragraphs. Now, General Willisen is an officer of unquestionable honour, and of the highest reputation for military science. He has written several highly-esteemed works on strategy, and has studied the subject in the fields of war in Lombardy. The imputation carries with it its own refutation. What inducement could tempt a commander-in-chief of an army as numerous as the army opposed to him, with forty millions of people at his back looking up to him for success, and confided in to the utmost by his enthusiastic soldiers, to throw away his military reputation, and the character for skill, and science in the art of war, which he had acquired in the fields of literature, and allow himself to be beaten in a strong, selected, and fortified position at Idstedt, and again at the siege of Frederickstadt, with thirty-two pieces of the heaviest ordnance, by a garrison of two regiments with eight light field pieces? All that can justly be said of such unexpected military events is, that the victory is not always to the strong, that, without

reckoning upon fortune, chance, Providence giving success to the weak and ill-treated, war is, like poetry, not an art to be acquired from books; and genius, inspiration, a ready mind and eye, gain victories, both in war and poetry, which study, rules, or science cannot achieve. If the German press be right in its denunciation of treachery in the disasters of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army, the demoralisation of the upper class of civil and military functionaries, the men who were the instigators and leaders in the field, of this army of victims to their treachery, surpasses all that history presents to us in the most vicious and debased age; if wrong, the demoralisation of the class of literary men who kindled and fanned the flame, and now would account for its natural extinction from want of fuel, by imputations of treachery against an honourable, brave, and accomplished officer, is equally unexampled. The only certain conclusion is, that the literary and educational classes in Germany have, in the course of the last fifty years, undermined, in high and low, the probity which formerly distinguished the German character.

We can understand a vexed and ill-governed people rising in their fury, and finding leaders not merely among themselves, the aggrieved and oppressed, but among the classes who, personally, or individually, have had, perhaps, little to complain of. We justly hail such leaders, Kossuth for example, or Hampden, or Washington, as patriots, liberators, ornaments of their cause and country. But we have no such terms to bestow upon the pseudo-patriots, not even natives of Germany, who raised the agitation for a visionary "Vaterland," and who did not belong by birth, education, or family connexion, to the population and

country they were exciting to insurrection, and many of whom should have felt bound to the governments they were endeavouring to overturn, by the moral tie of gratitude for their daily bread, for offices, professorships, salaries. Some of the most clamorous and active instigators and leaders of the German movement of 1848, were foreigners whose only naturalisation in their German "Vaterland" was, ubi bene, ibi patria. It is instructive to look a little into the history of these self-made German patriots who stirred up the youth to an unprincipled aggressive war in Sleswick for their own political visions of aggrandisement. We shall begin with the oldest of the political agitators through the German press, Professor Arndt, who, although not distinguished in the literature of Germany by any work of note, has played a great and influential part in the German world as a political writer. He assisted more perhaps than any other literary man, by his addresses, flying sheets, and newspaper articles, in kindling the spirit of the German people in 1813, to engage in that glorious struggle against the French domination, which ended victoriously at Waterloo. He has ever since been fanning, and keeping alive in the German youth, a spark of the same fire, an enthusiasm for a permanent and powerful German nationality, until it broke out in 1848 into a flame which is still burning, damped, but unextinguished, beneath the social structure, and terrifying even the men who kindled it. Professor Arndt, father Arndt, old Arndt, now above eighty years of age, has witnessed, and taken part in great vicissitudes. He did more, in 1813, for the liberation of Germany, than men of much higher intellectual powers and literary name. Poste-

rity will ask where, in that spirit-stirring time, when every German was called upon to do his utmost for the "Vaterland" with the means and faculties Providence has bestowed on him, where was Goethe with his pen, the first poet and prose writer of the age in Germany? Where were the gilded and decorated swarms of literary men who came out, after the battle-storm was over, to bask in the sunshine of royal favour at Berlin and Munich? Professor Arndt stood, almost alone, in front of the literary corps of Germany in that great struggle. A ready composer of political paragraphs and newspaper articles, he was, perhaps, more useful and successful than a man of higher intellectual powers; and for some time before the retreat of the French from Moscow, he had been employed by the ex-minister of Prussia, Baron Stein, in preparing the public mind, through the press, for the liberation-movement of Germany in 1813. After the peace he was rewarded with a professorship at Bonn. But the doctrine of German unity and nationality, considered by the Prussian government so useful and patriotic in 1813, was considered dangerous and treasonable in 1818. Professor Arndt was suspended from his functions, imprisoned, or placed in house-arrest, his papers seized, his lectures interdicted, on the suspicion that he was propagating among the youth of the university those very ideas of German nationality for which, five years before, he had been rewarded; and the result in 1848 proves that the Prussian government may not have been wrong in its suspicion. Yet such is the mutability of political principle and action in Germany, that, in 1849, this very government was bending down and worshipping those very ideas, and

acknowledging the supremacy of a German national assembly at Frankfort elected by universal suffrage, and of which this very Ernst Moritz Arndt was a member; and, more wonderful still, a member voting with and supporting that faction in this assembly which sought to establish a Prussian supremacy over all Germany. Where there is no stability of principle in governments or individuals, there is no consistency in actions. But the great wonder remains to be told. This Ernst Moritz Arndt, who first kindled the flame of German nationality in all the youth of German race and tongue, who in 1813 did great literary deeds in rousing and uniting the German populations in one common effort against their French oppressors, and who first proclaimed the right of the great Teutonic family to the highest seat among European powers, as one united nation of forty millions of people, with a common nationality and government, extending from the sand hills of Holland to the banks of the Vistula, with fleets, armies, common finances and a common constitutional government,—the Ernst Moritz Arndt who dreamt this magnificent dream, did much towards its accomplishment, and who has lived to see no inconsiderable portion of it realised, for a time, by the adhesion of the members of the old Germanic body to a central government at Frankfort, and the acknowledgment of a *Reichsverweser*, as he had suggested even to the very title, for the provisional head of this new empire,—this Ernst Moritz Arndt, the author of the national song "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland," the prophet, apostle, and poet of this great German movement for nationality and united government of all of German race and tongue, is, after all, not a German himself,

not a native subject of any German power, not a man born and bred in his beloved German "Vaterland." This appears almost too extravagantly ludicrous for belief to those who know how much has been said, sung, and written of late about German nationality, and a long smothered, but now glowing, innate flame in every breast of the fair-haired, blue-eyed, Teutonic race, for the glory and grandeur of the beloved "Vaterland!" "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" What! Is it possible that the author of these spirit-stirring lines, and of the vision of German unity, nationality, armies, fleets, finances, diplomacy, and power all in the hands of a government of professors from the chairs of Bonn, Hiedelberg, Kiel, — visions which agitated the educated and half-educated people of Germany in 1848, — was not a German himself, not a man born and bred in this same poetic "Vaterland?" Such, nevertheless, is the sober truth. We have his own autobiography for the fact; and very characteristic it is of the great German movement of 1848, and of the class of persons who kindled the phosphoric flame in the German mind, which passed for genuine fire. Ernst Moritz Arndt was a Swede born in the island of Rugen, in Swedish Pomerania, a country which for many generations — from the thirty years' war to the settlement of Europe in 1816 — had belonged to Sweden, and not to Germany, or to Prussia. His father was a leibigen, or adscriptus glebæ, peasant who had attended his lord on important missions from the court of Stockholm to various countries, as his valet and courier, was emancipated on account of his faithful services and good conduct, became a farmer, a land steward, a verpachter, or tacksman of an estate, in the neighbourhood of

Stralsund, and, as usual in this respectable station in life, sent his sons to an university, with a view to their obtaining a professional living in the church or courts of law, under the Swedish government. The German language, Professor Arndt tells us, was to him an acquired language. The Platt Deutsch was his mother tongue. On his return from the university of Jena, where he studied, but seems not to have attained a degree, Arndt was appointed by the Swedish government to a professorship, or adjunct professorship, at the university of Greifswald, in Swedish Pomerania, where he married, had a family, and lived for eleven years. In 1807, when the French army under Mortier invaded Swedish Pomerania, and invested Stralsund, Professor Arndt, as a born subject of Sweden, and an official person under sworn allegiance to his king and country, appears to have taken some steps to incite the peasantry to resist the French troops. Being alarmed for his personal safety, he emigrated, and took refuge at Stockholm, the capital of his native country. His German "Vaterland" was still unborn at the time its eldest son was a Swedish subject at the mature age of forty. Germany was still to him a foreign land, in which he had passed two or three years at an university, but in which he had no home, kindred, ties, or connexion by property or employment, any more than in England or France. After the peace of Tilsit, he came to Berlin, and seems to have been employed by the Prussian ministry as a writer of political pamphlets and newspaper paragraphs. He was at Petersburg in the suite of the Prussian ex-minister Stein, when the French advanced to Moscow. In 1813 began the successful efforts of Professor

Arndt and a few others to rouse the spirit of the German people by pamphlets, flying-sheets, newspaper articles, and all the stimulants of the press, to an united struggle against the defeated, retreating, and disorganised French army. Then first arose the idea of a permanent union of the whole Germanic populations into one mighty central European power, including all of German race and tongue, with one central, constitutional government, common laws and institutions, fleets, armies, finances, professorial statesmen, posts, places, and all that was dreamt of on the benches of the Paulus Kirche at Frankfort in 1848—and Ernst Moritz Arndt was unquestionably the father of the dream.

It is very characteristic of the real social state and spirit of Germany, that in this vast and visionary scheme, even when it was most fervently adopted by the learned, the functionary, and the idle classes, little or nothing was heard of the classes who had any real stake in the country as land owners,—house-owners, merchants, manufacturers, capitalists, — and nothing at all of the great body of the population of Germany, — the country population of peasant-proprietors, tacksmen, or large tenants, dealers, tradesmen, labourers. The town populations alone were represented, and the classes who could be adequately represented by philosophers, professors, students, lawyers, functionaries, and representatives, like Ernst Moritz Arndt, strangers scarcely domiciled in any German state, and ignorant of the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing population and interest. The legislation of such a body of representatives was a mass of the most inconsistent and impracticable dogma. Take, for example, the ground-rights, (grund-

rechte) laid down by a decree of the Frankfort parliament of the 20th December 1848, to be the inalienable rights of every German, and to come in full operation throughout the whole new German empire from the 17th January 1849. By Article I., paragraph 3., of these ground-rights, "every German has the right to remove to, and reside in, any place he thinks proper within the territory of the common German 'Vaterland,' and there to exercise any branch of trade or industry he pleases." This ground-right of the individual is unquestionably just, reasonable, clearly expressed, and without it, freedom would be an empty expression, and one country, and one nation, applied to Germany and its people, would be terms of mockery. Again, by Article IX., paragraph 32., of the grund-rechte, "property" is declared to be "inviolable." This too is surely an unobjectionable enactment, scarcely requiring to be so pompously enacted; for, like the right to breath the atmosphere, man could not exist in society without rights of property. Yet in the hands of men of mere theory, without practical knowledge, how incompatibly, and in practice unjustly, these two most simple, and in the abstract most true and just, propositions of the ground-rights of every individual not in a state of slavery, or insanity,—the right of removing his domicile and exercising his trade where he pleases within his own country, and the right to protection for his property—work together, or rather against each other, owing to the chaos of feudalism still existing in Germany, and the want of practical knowledge in these legislators. Every trade is exercised by privilege and license paid for to the State, and in towns to the muncipality, as well as to the State, and

the master tradesmen who enjoy the privilege, or monopoly, of exclusively exercising their crafts in their several localities, have bought and paid for their privileges. It is their property; they pay a tax upon this property to the State, a *Gewerbsteuer*, or trade-tax, assessed upon the estimated earnings which they are supposed to make yearly in consequence of their exclusive privilege. The bakers, for instance, in Leipsic say, we bought the exclusive privilege of baking bread for sale in this city, and each of us paid 1200 dollars for his share of this privilege. It is our lawful property purchased from the State, and guaranteed to us and taxed as property by the State, and "property is inviolable" by the 32. paragraph of Article IX. of our *grund-rechte*. But a baker from Dresden, or elsewhere in Germany, comes to Leipsic, and says, here is an opening for me and my trade, I will settle here with my capital and skill, for by paragraph 3. of Article I. of our *grund-rechte*, I am entitled to take up my abode and exercise my trade, where I please in the German "Vaterland." How are such conflicting ground-rights to be reconciled? The Frankfort parliament was content with pronouncing two undeniable abstract propositions, without deigning to consider how both could exist together in the actual state of society in Germany. Every trade and handicraft, baking, butchering, shoemaking, tailoring, in short every imaginable branch of industry above unskilled common hand labour, is carried on by license paid for, according to the value of the monopoly in the particular locality, and taxed to the State upon the same principle as other property is taxed, viz. the value yearly of the protected trade. To compensate the owners of this kind of property,

or to buy it up, would exceed the financial means of any, or of all, of the German States. In Hamburgh, for example, every butcher pays, it is said, an entry or price of 10,000 dollars for his privilege to kill and sell meat in that city, and half a million dollars would be required to compensate the owners of this property, viz. the exclusive privilege of the licenced butchers in Hamburgh alone, if it were free to every German who chose to come to Hamburgh, and exercise the trade of a butcher. This system cannot be retained without a gross infringement on the first and most essential of the civil rights of the individual in a free country, and cannot be abolished without gross injustice, and a direct violation of acknowledged rights of property. The Frankfort parliament neither untied nor cut the knot, but left two abstract principles of incompatible coexistence in the present social state of Germany — the freedom of trade and industry, and the inviolability of property — standing in practical opposition to each other in the *grund-rechte*. Again, by paragraph 7. of the Article II. of *the grund-rechte*, it is declared that the State has a right to the military service of every male individual of the military age, without substitution or exemption; and this military service to the State is a duty imposed equally on all Germans. This is the principle of the land-wehr service incorporated in the *grund-rechte*. But by paragraph 3. of article I. of the same *grund-rechte*, every German is entitled to go where he pleases, and settle where he pleases within the German empire. How is the ground-right of the State to the military service of every individual reconcilable in practice, with the ground-right of every individual to his personal freedom of removal, and of going or

settling where he pleases? The two ground-rights cannot coexist in the same community. This right of the State necessarily requires a fixity of, and a superintendence and check over the domiciles, and removals from place to place, of the individuals subject to military service, that is, of all the adult male individuals in the population. It necessarily requires a military organisation of the people in every locality, a control by corporals and serjeants, or by civil functionaries, over all the individuals subject to this right of the State, and requires a passport system, and military system of leave of absence, to prevent evasion of the military service, all which are entirely incompatible with the personal freedom of movement within the German "Vaterland," so pompously set forth in the 1st Article, as the unquestionable ground-right of every German. There is in all this a confusion of ideas, a jumble of rights of individuals, and of powers conferred permanently, as rights on the State, or executive, incompatible with each other, and which we could scarcely have expected in a ground-law, or declaration of the civil rights of the German people, and in a constitution deliberately framed by a constituent assembly of the most eminent philosophers, politicians, statesmen, professors, and lawyers, in Germany. It is evident from all its transactions, that this assembly misunderstood from the very beginning its own legitimate powers and position. It was elected for the purpose of framing a constitution for Germany, was in the strictest sense a constituent assembly for laying down the ground-laws, and forms of a future government, but was in no sense a State, or government, for exercising executive power, such as engaging in a war of aggression

against Denmark. The confusion of those distinct boundaries between legislative and executive power, which are of the very elements of constitutional government, may be natural and excusable in the mind of the uneducated common people born and bred under autocratic rule. They see the law and its administration, emanating solely from the executive, and seeing but that one power in the State, they naturally refer all power to it, and are insensible to the inconsistency of mixing legislative and executive function together in one body, and calling it constitutional government. But from a constituent assembly composed of philosophers, professors of state-economy, and eminent theoretical statesmen, the public were entitled to expect more enlightened constitutional views. It is very characteristic of the social state of the Continental people, and shows how unripe even the educated classes in Germany are for any form of constitutional government, that the very assembly elected to frame a constitution, began in their own transactions, with overturning, and setting aside the basis of all constitutional government, the separation of legislative from executive function, and seized and wielded the executive power themselves, declaring war against Denmark, raising troops, and practically governing on the same principle as the most autocratic cabinet, viz. that of uniting legislative and executive power in their own hands.

Professor Dahlmann, author of a history of Denmark, a history of the English and French revolutions, and of other works of less note, was another leader in the Frankfort parliament, and agent in raising the German movement which gave it birth, and is another instance of the different moral sense of literary men

abroad from that which regulates social action in England. On the 4th September, 1848, the convention for an armistice and peace between Prussia, on the part of Germany, and Denmark, was laid before the Frankfort parliament. It raised a storm of indignation in that sage and sedate assembly. Peace was repudiated, the proposal was cried down as an insult to the patriotism of the citizens of the German "Vaterland." Professor Dahlmann was the head and orator of the party in the parliament who rejected, by an immense majority, the proposal of peace with Denmark, and decided for war and bloodshed. Among public men in our unphilosophic, uneducated country, it is not usual, or deemed consistent with right moral feeling, that gratitude for personal benefits and favours received, gratitude for such deep obligations, for example, as subsistence, education, means of living, appointment to office, and income, should be thrown aside, and that political objects, party spirit, or even real patriotism to a real existing "Vaterland," should convert the individual under such obligations into the opponent and bitter enemy of his benefactors. He retires from public life, and leaves to others the field of political action, rather than play the patriot at the expense of his moral feelings of gratitude for such benefits and obligations. Public men in Germany have a different moral sense, measure right and wrong in political action by a different standard. They study, apparently, at their universities, in a different school of ethics. Professor Dahlmann was born of Swedish parents, in 1783, at Wismar. He is a Swede, not a German, by family ties, and a Dane by every moral tie of obligation for his education, his subsistence, and the means of living of himself and

his family. His uncle, Professor Jenssens, was established in the university of Copenhagen, where he himself received his education at the expense of the Danish government, and where he published some of his early works. In 1813, he was appointed by the Danish government to a professorship in the university of Kiel, where he lived for sixteen years, drawing the salary by which he subsisted from the government which, in 1848, he did his utmost to subvert, and from the country into which he introduced war and devastation. In 1829, Dahlmann was called to a professorship in the university of Gottingen, and was one of the seven professors expelled by the late king of Hanover from that university. He was again received, and subsisted at Kiel as one of the professors, and, in 1848, we find this German patriot declaiming against a peace with Denmark, and urging the Frankfort parliament, with a fatal success, to carry fire and sword into the provinces of Holstein and Sleswick, which had been his home for the better part of forty years, and to wage a furious war against that State which had bestowed on him his education, his subsistence, and his position in life. We have no such patriotism in England.

The deception practised on the public mind in Germany in 1848 by its literary statesmen, and the false and temporary enthusiasm kindled by the newspaper press, are illustrated strongly by a single fact which is casually mentioned by one of its victims and zealous partisans, Uffo Horn, a poet of some celebrity, in a pamphlet I purchased here, entitled "Von Idstedt bis zum Ende." After the battle of Idstedt, when the "Schleswig-Holstein" army was safe in Rendsburg, it could not muster above 24,000

men out of 33,000 who took the field at that battle. The killed, wounded, missing and sick, and about 1200 prisoners taken by the Danes, reduced the effective force to about this number. It was necessary to rouse all Germans to a mighty effort for the German "Vaterland." The Stadtholdership of "Schleswig-Holstein" issued proclamations to the people of the duchies, inviting volunteers to join the army for the rescue of their king from his captivity; the newspapers throughout Germany agitated, excited, called for volunteers to redeem the honour of the black, red, and yellow flag, of their beloved "Vaterland;" the press, in every corner of Germany, raved, and ranted, and groaned with addresses to the patriotic youth. The enthusiasm of the literary and idle classes was once more to be kindled, and, according to the newspaper press, was burning bright and high in every Teutonic breast. And how many responded to the call? Out of the 40 millions of inhabitants of the new German "Vaterland," how many came to redeem her honour, and make good her claim to the duchy of Sleswick, in this hour of need? About 700 men! Uffo Horn, one of these volunteers, and who from Bohemia had responded to the call, describes his fellow-volunteers as mostly young students, artists, and idlers without occupation. This is surely unexceptionable evidence of the true state of the public mind in Germany about its visionary empire, and of the classes who supported the delusion, for it comes, accidentally, from one of the most active, disinterested, and zealous partisans of the cause. A turn-out of 700 volunteers from a population of 40 millions, to support the dying national cause of the great, united German "Vaterland" in a

struggle for the principle of its existence, and for an accession of its rightful territory, is almost ludicrous. The truth is, that in three years of agitation and turmoil the enthusiasm for a false object had expired. Common sense had regained her seat. The German people began to consider that one great central government for all Germany would be incompatible with the natural interests of the distant parts of Germany, and with the civil liberty, just rights, and equal government of all, and would only be of benefit to those who promoted it,—the class of functionaries, literary men, would-be statesmen, and expectants on office. The delusion was at an end; its dupes and victims, were exhausted, were already in the ranks of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army, or had fallen in battle. The "Schleswig-Holstein" government, finding that enthusiasm for the one united German "Vaterland," her black, red, and yellow flag, and all the sing-song about "Schleswig-Holstein meer-umschlungen," could only bring 700 volunteers out of 40 millions of people to its support, was obliged to resort to the old prosaic mode of enlisting the patriot in his country's cause by a bounty of ten dollars to each recruit. "Oh, my masters! what a falling off was here!" In a country so extensive, idle, and military as Germany, ten dollars of bounty would collect men for any cause. Ten-dollar patriots came in sufficient numbers to fill up the ranks thinned at Idstedt; but Uffo Horn describes them as red-nosed Prussians dismissed from the service at home; and Iveson, a Sleswick volunteer in the insurgent army, says they were profligate vagabonds, worn out in other services than that of Mars, and who disgusted the native soldiers of the Duchies, the peasants forced

by conscription to serve, or who had joined as volunteers, and who were the kernel of the army.

Some important conclusions may be drawn from these premises. First. The establishment of a central government for all Germany met with no approbation from the German people, from the 40 millions who were represented by the German press as enthusiastic in its favour. Neither men nor money appeared for its support. The educating and educated classes, ambitious professors, functionaries, literary men, over-educated students expectant on office for a living, and imaginative, idle youths, eager for excitement, were the only enthusiasts. The list of the Frankfort Parliament shows that the industry, the land, the commerce, the manufactures, the property of the German population, were not represented in it at all. The members were of the class and character the least connected of any with the material interests of the country for which they were legislating; and the very first emanation of their legislative wisdom, the ground-law of the German people, is full of contradictions in its enactments, and of enactments which, in practical effect, would have deteriorated the condition of the people, low as it may be, in respect of civil rights, personal freedom, and security of property. Whoever will impartially go over the proceedings of this assembly, will agree in the conclusion that it neither promoted, nor understood, nor represented, the interests of Germany, or of any part of the great mass of its population, and that its extinction was a benefit to civilised society. Its legislative acts, as shown in its ground-law, and its executive acts, as shown in its ferocious and unnecessary war against Denmark, prove that it was a

government of self-conceited men, drunk with power, insensible to, or ignorant of, the wants and rights of the people, the best of them tools working for the objects of Prussia or Austria, the worst of them, (if they were the worst) sincere, but crack-brained enthusiasts for a visionary impracticable scheme of German aggrandisement, and of political power entrusted to literary men. Secondly. The root of the evil—the evil of a class, numerous, and more or less educated, but not connected with the material interests and well-being of the country, being able to shake the social structure to its foundations, although incapable of replacing it—may be traced to the educational system of Germany, to the well-meant efforts of the continental governments to educate their subjects by national schools, an enforced attendance on them, and by allowing national schools only, or at the utmost schools licensed by, and under superintendance of, the educational functionaries of government, to give instruction to the people. The teachers of those schools and the whole educational body, from the master of the primary A B C school for the poorest of the ragged classes, up to the rector magnificus and professors of the university, or the minister of public instruction, and the members of the cabinet who advise the sovereign and administer the public affairs, are men imbued with the same principles and views in ethics, in politics, and social economy, and impart them to the generation they educate or rule over. It was probably the intention of the continental sovereigns, if they had any intention beyond the removal of the gross ignorance of the people by a system of national education for all classes, to educate their subjects in sentiments and ideas favourable to

the support of, or quiet submission to, their own power and government. But they forgot that the human mind cannot be drilled like the human body. They did not observe that they were establishing a power within the state independent of the state, and handing over that power to an educational body formed, patronised, superintended, recommended for all professional advancements, by a conclave of professors at the universities, or of men bred there, all of one spirit, and banded together for inculcating theories of social polity and government, altogether wild and impracticable. The sovereigns might change men, but could not change measures in their cabinets, for the ministers they had to choose from were all formed in the same school. Prussia fell back upon the military class, and found in it ministers less theoretical, vague, and undecided, than among her civil functionaries and university-bred statesmen. In France, the president Louis Napoleon, has swept the country clear of the influence of the educational and literary corps, and of the individuals who wielded it. The means have been unprincipled, and their application tyrannical, but the end attained has been good. A power has been crushed which could neither govern, nor allow any other to govern. Thirdly. It is one of the most instructive facts in the history of the last half-century, that the two countries, France and Germany, and particularly Prussia, which have taken the lead in national education, have established schools, licensed teachers, compulsory attendance, educational boards, superintendents, and a minister of state for public instruction, with a vast and efficient machinery, and which have succeeded in diffusing reading, writing, a taste for music, a taste for fine

arts, and have spread many accomplishments among the people, have failed entirely in getting together, out of their educated populations, three or four hundred men of common sense, and ordinary capacity for business, to be an efficient parliament. The Frankfort Parliament was a caricature upon the name and institution; yet there were no uneducated members in that assembly, few, perhaps, who in taste, knowledge, and literary acquirements, were not far above the intellectual standard of the great majority of our members of parliament. They were fairly chosen by universal suffrage, and sent from their several localities as the representatives most capable of conducting the public affairs and interests. They represented the public mind, if not the public interests, and most important classes of Germany. What a picture they afforded of this universally educated public mind! Vague speculations, and discussions of abstract principles of social and political philosophy, questions and squabbles, similar to those of a sixpenny spouting club, occupied the mind and time of this grave and potent assembly, until it fell into contempt from its utter incapacity and inefficiency. The Chamber of Deputies in France lasted longer, and was a still more signal failure. The conclusion to be drawn is, that national education,—that is, the attempt of a government to enforce or diffuse education more rapidly, or more widely, than the wants and natural progress of society require, and will provide for spontaneously,—is worse than useless. It is not in schools, but in the circle of actual affairs in which the individual lives and moves freely, that his intellectual powers are formed, and this formation of the intellectual powers is real education.

Freedom of social action, freedom to teach and to be taught, freedom of the press, freedom of opinion, embrace all that a government can do, or ought to do, for the promotion of education. With these a nation will educate itself according to its requirements, and according to its natural advance in material well-being. Intellectual progress can only follow material progress. If the former outstrip the latter, either in the case of individuals or of nations; if a man is studying useful knowledge in the encyclopædia, while his week's income is still unearned; or if a nation is cultivating its taste at the opera, or in the picture gallery, while its fields are neglected, and its work-shops deserted, the results are not so happy that a wise government should go out of its way to legislate for promoting the premature advance of intellectual culture. They will go hand-in-hand if left to themselves. The social, political, moral, and religious state of Germany and France, now, after half-a-century almost of national education by government machinery, is not so very encouraging that our legislature should hasten to adopt any similar system, or our social philosophers to recommend it.

CHAP. VI.

DUCHY OF SLESWICK. — APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY. — SIMILARITY TO ENGLAND. — PROBABLE STATE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS. — REMAINS OF THEIR SOCIAL STATE PRESERVED HERE. — THE PEASANTRY. — THE NOBLES. — DECAY OF ARISTOCRACY. — LARGE DAIRY FARMS. — NO THRASHING MILLS — NO TURNIP CROPS. — THE CLASS OF VERPACHTERS. — MANAGEMENT OF THEIR FARMS. — FEEDING THEIR DAIRY STOCK. — RENTS. — SIZE OF FARMS. — ROTATION OF CROPS. — COMPLICATED BUSINESS OF THE VERPACHTERS. — MANUFACTURERS RATHER THAN FARMERS. — HOLLANDERS OR COW-HIRERS. — TETHERING OF COWS REVIVED. — THE LODGING OF THE PEOPLE. — NO ANCIENT MANSIONS. — LARGE FARM OFFICES. — HOUSES OF THE VERPACHTERS — OF THE PEASANT PROPRIETORS — OF THE LABOURERS — THE VILLAGERS.

GETTORF, 1851.—I have been for some time in this village, in the duchy of Sleswick, near the frontier of Holstein. It is only two or three miles from the boundary of the two duchies, and of Germany and Denmark,—the river Eyder, or rather the canal which here occupies its original bed. I lodge in the house of a widow of a Bonde, or peasant proprietor, not uncomfortably, and very much in the way of seeing and hearing what interests the traveller.

The country along the coast of the Baltic, and of its fiords, and for a short way back from the shore-side into the interior, is English all over—a country of small irregular fields, of various shapes and sizes, surrounded by hedges, and with hedges and hedge-row trees on each side of the country roads, the gently swelling grounds not rising any where to the elevation of hills, but cultivated to the summits and crowned with woods; the main roads good, and macadamised, the cross country roads bad, and many

of them, the soil a light loam, rather inclining to sand than clay, and with foot paths across the fields, stiles, gates, single houses, hamlets, duck ponds, village greens, fields of old grass, old trees, oak, elm, beech, and few of the fir tribe, and with English-like cattle, horses, pigs, people, houses, farming implements—in short, like a slice of old England cut out of one of her best midland or southern counties, and transported across the North Sea. The country is so like England, and so unlike any other part of the Continent, and not merely in its shape, soil, or other natural features, but in what man has done upon its face in settling, cultivating, and taking it out of its primæval state of waste or forest, that the traveller views it with an immediate impression that this country and England have been one, and that the Anglo-Saxons, or pagan inhabitants of this peninsula, have been in a much higher state of civilisation when they invaded England in the fifth century than our monkish historians admit; and have imported into England the husbandry, cattle, style of dwellings, implements of husbandry, division of the land by hedges, and other peculiarities common at this day to both countries, and to be seen in no other. Nor does the account of our early historians contradict the supposition of a higher social state, and civilisation, than they describe, or admit. The invaders came by sea, and they must necessarily have had at home the use of iron, and, as the country produces none, the means, the natural or artificial products, and the commerce to buy, barter, and procure iron with, for weapons, and tools to construct ships. Husbandry they must have had to raise provisions for bodies of men embarking on a voyage of uncertain duration. They could not go to

sea with less than a fortnight's supply of victuals, and of water secured in casks, or other water-tight vessels. They must have been able to raise and prepare flax or hemp to weave sail cloth, and to manufacture ropes. They must, in short, have had a very considerable diffusion among them of the useful arts, such as carpentry, smithwork, weaving, seamanship, as well as husbandry, to have fitted out ships filled with men to cross the ocean. The aspect of the land, the form of the dwellings and implements, and the diffusion of the arts and trades necessary among an agricultural and seafaring population, may not have been so very different, and inferior, fourteen centuries ago, as we suppose. People who could build ships, however small or rude, had certainly dwelling houses, the material, wood, being the same for both; and having necessarily sails, ropes, and provisions for a voyage, could neither have been naked, nor clothed in skins, nor dependent on hunting and fishing for their daily food; nor could they have been without the arts and trades of a considerably advanced stage of civilisation, when they embarked on voyages from the mouth of the Eyder to the mouth of the Thames. It is not on the face of the country only, but in the almost equally indelible features and spirit of its social institutions, that a similarity may be traced between this country and England. This peninsula, like England, has never been entirely feudalised. Large tracts of it, especially on the ocean coast, have always been occupied by peasant proprietors, or yeomen, holding their lands of no feudal superior, and retaining civil rights and privileges unknown among the same class in Germany. In Eyderstedt, Ditmarsh, Angeln, and other districts, both on the ocean and Baltic coasts, the

owners of the land, the peasant proprietors, are very much in the social state in which their ancestors may have been in England before the Norman conquest partially introduced feudal usages. Feudality here has been superinduced, as in England, over an older and more free Germanic or Anglo-Saxon groundwork; but until lately it has not, as in England, become blended with the older institutions and one free social system formed out of both. Here, until the beginning of the present century, the feudal state of society, with its most aggravated abuses, serfage, hereditary jurisdictions, and a Ritterschaft, or body of nobles, noted, even in Germany, for arrogance and abuse of power over their leibeigen serfs, stood side by side with a social state in which peasant proprietors occupied entire districts of the most valuable land, and maintained an independent social existence with rights, and civil freedom, and the management of their own affairs in their own hands, and acknowledging no feudal authority over them. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the peasantry of the west coast resisted with the sword all encroachments on their free institutions. These still exist, and form a kind of republic of small landowners by the side of a feudal nobility which is rapidly declining in opulence and social influence. The expense of living in modern times has reduced the old feudal nobility in this country to a poor and indebted condition. What could be sold of their estates has been very generally disposed of, and, in many cases, to peasant proprietors who have clubbed together and divided their purchase; and what could not be sold on account of mortgages, entails, life-rents, or other interests involved, is let and managed by trustees. The social

influence of the nobles on the Continent, even where they possess large property in land, is entirely gone by the rise of the functionary class which reduces all men—proprietors, capitalists, merchants, manufacturers—the people who have, and the people who have not, any interest at stake in the local affairs of the district in which they dwell—to a common level of unimportance, and insignificance in social action. The King and the People are the only two elements left in the social structure of the Continent, and the influence of property, which is the third element, and the natural cement for keeping the other two together, and in their right places, has decayed.

In this neighbourhood are some of the largest farms and estates of the nobles, or Ritterschaft, of the two duchies. These large farms, of from 500 to a 1000 acres, or more, are distinct manors, formerly cultivated by the feudal lord with the labour of the leibeigen peasants on the estate, the adscripti glebæ, but now very generally let to tacksmen, or verpachters, put in often by capitalists in Hamburgh, Berlin, and other cities, who have lent money on mortgage on the estates of the nobles. Few of this class of estates are under the direction of the nominal proprietor. I went one evening to drink tea with a lieutenant of cavalry, quartered with a small detachment at a large farm called Lindau. It is the property of a wealthy nobleman, of a large estate of fully 6000 acres, and this farm of about 1300 acres adjoins the mansion-house, and has been the "mains" or manorial farm, but is let. The verpachter, or tenant, showed me all his establishment. He keeps 240 cows, summer and winter, 30 farm horses, and a multitude of pigs and geese. He

has 20 dairy-maids, always at work, a cooper, grieves, a clerk, and about 18 farm servants, besides occasional labourers. All the large farms in Sleswick, Holstein, Hanover, Mecklenburgh, and other countries in this part of Europe, are dairy farms depending for rent, and profits, on butter, cheese, pigs, not on corn crops only. Dairy products are the basis of the husbandry, even of the smallest farms. This verpachter keeps no sheep. He thinks cows more profitable. Mutton is not so generally used on the Continent as in England. Veal, pork, beef, poultry, are more usually the meat consumed in families; and the mutton, as the sheep have generally some cross of the merino breed in them, is of inferior quality. The cows on this farm are almost all of the Ayrshire breed, or a cross of that breed with the native Angeln cattle, and descendants from Ayrshire stock imported from time to time by the noble proprietor who resides on his estate, and takes an interest in its improvement. When I expressed my surprise to the verpachter at the magnitude of his concerns, he assured me that his farm was not at all of an unusual size. He named several keeping from 200 to 250 cows, and two or three with from 300 to 400; and a farm with 100 cows is considered rather a small than a large concern. The dairy-maids, clean, healthy, buxom girls, were busy in the evening, under a head dairy woman, scalding and scrubbing the wooden pails and dishes, of which there were hundreds. They get up regularly at one o'clock in the morning to their work, and have a sleep at noon; this division of time suiting best their business. The regularity, arrangement, cleanliness, and the vast scale of all the operations, give the impression rather of a great manufactory of butter,

and cheese, than of a farm. The ordinary operations of a common arable farm are lost sight of in the operations of bringing the raw material to its highest and last state in a dairy farm. The butter, salted and packed on the farm in kegs made on the premises, is all sent to England, and the pigs are sent to the English market. The cheese, skimmed milk-cheese, is sold for home consumption at Hamburgh, and Copenhagen. The size of the cowhouses, and of the barns which hold all the winter provender for 240 cows, (for the corn and hay crops are under roof, and nothing is stacked out of doors,) is prodigious. The buildings are of brick, with very high peaked roofs of tiles; but, on other farms, and more commonly, of thatch of rye-straw and reeds, laid on very thick, and very neatly finished. The milk, butter, cheese, cream, &c., had, of course, their distinct apartments — roomy, light, sweet, and admirably clean. The churn was worked by horse-power and machinery; and the whey and butter-milk were conveyed by pumps and pipes to a piggery at some distance from the dairy rooms, and properly divided for the pigs of different ages. I missed that necessary appendage to all Scotch farms, the threshing mill. The verpachter's grieve, a very intelligent sensible man, told me they had formerly been used, but had been given up, because, although the machines threshed cleaner and cheaper than the flail, they broke the straw, and rendered it less palatable as fodder for the cattle: a heap of broken straw delivered at once from the machine, becoming dry from the air penetrating through it, and, after a day or two, cattle will not eat it. All the dairy farmers have returned, on this account, to the old practice of threshing out every day or two

by the flail what is required for the fodder of a day or two. The threshing is done, on the old plan, by contract, for the fifteenth bushel. I missed also the finely pulverised turnip-field, with its long clean drills, the pride and ornament of every Scotch farm at this season. A Scotch farmer would certainly go mad if he had 240 head of cattle to keep all winter, and not an acre of turnips to give them. Turnips, mangel-worsel, swedes, rutabaga, and all field root-crops, are unknown here, although the soil is a light, barley soil, and is in general very foul, and only cleaned by naked summer fallowing. The only winter food for the cattle on these large dairy farms is pease, vetches, hay, clover, straw, corn in the straw, and mashes of oats, barley, bran, oilcake, &c. The cattle are kept in a milking condition, and fed very highly all winter, and the corn crop is not spared, but considered altogether subservient to the dairy, and is bestowed, unthreshed or crushed, on the milking stock plentifully, perhaps wastefully. The alteration in our corn-laws will soon adjust the balance between grain, and dairy products, on these large farms. Where towns are small, and far apart, the farmer has no manure but what the farm-yard produces; and where sheep, or even fattened cattle, are not easily brought to market, his means of raising manure on his farm are more limited than those of our farmers, and the dairy husbandry may be not only preferable, but unavoidable. It is probable that the climate, from its severe frost in ordinary winters, may prevent turnips, or other root-crops, being so useful, or available for cattle, as with us. Turnips cannot be taken up and preserved in heaps, indoors or out, for several months, without heating, fermenting, and rotting,

and the flavour of the butter of turnip-fed cows is disagreeable. The frost and snow, in general, last too long to allow of drawing the turnips and carting them home as they are wanted. The verpachters are too enlightened and enterprising a class of farmers not to have tried turnip crops. They attend our English cattle shows and agricultural meetings, are educated men, acquainted with every agricultural improvement, have agricultural meetings and cattle shows of their own, and publish the transactions and essays of the members. They use guano, and all the animal or chemical manures, have introduced tile draining, machinery for making pipes and tiles, and are no strangers to irrigation on their old grass meadows. I could not with propriety ask about the rent of this fine farm, but the verpachter said that if he did not make 12,000 dollars yearly out of his concern, he would have to touch his capital to make up rent and expenses. This would be about 1330*l.* sterling a year, and allowing rent and charges to be about equal, as in our farming, the rent would be ten shillings an acre, which I believe is about the average rent of good arable land here. I obtained, afterwards, more precise information respecting other farms of the same class, and will give here what I collected respecting rent and management.

The verpachter of one, considered a small dairy farm, holds 300 tonne arable land, 36 tonne meadow land, and 7 tonne in garden, court yard, roads, &c., in all, 343 tonne. The tonne is a variable measure. In this district it is 240 Holstein ruthe, or perches, and reducing the perch to our square measure, the 343 tonne of land is equal to about 435 imperial acres. This farm keeps on an average 80 cows all

the year round; in summer 70 cows are kept, and in autumn 20 cows are bought in, of cows expected to calve early. Half of the cow stock are expected to calve about Candlemas, and the other half about Midsummer, so as to have, as far as possible, an equal quantity of milk to work up throughout the year. In winter there are often 100 cows, or more, in the cow-houses, those which are out of milk being fed off for the butchers. The cows old in milk have in winter a feed daily of three kans, or rather more than three-fourths of a gallon, of crushed peas and pea-shells, and the cows fresh in milk one half more. The peas, and pea-shells, and straw, are crushed in a mill, and steeped in warm water, and the remains of the hay left by the cattle chopped up, and the chaff, and light corn from the barn floor, are all mixed together in a warm mash. The allowance of hay is 15lbs. per cow, those old in milk somewhat less, and those fresh in milk somewhat more. The cattle have straw at discretion. The cows are fed in the following routine, which shows the regularity, and discipline of labour, in the management necessary on these dairy farms.

At 5 o'clock in the morning, mash; at 6 o'clock, hay; at 7 o'clock, water; at 8 o'clock, mash; at 8½ hay, and then straw, on which they are left to lie down, undisturbed. After the middle of the day, at 1½ o'clock hay; at 2 o'clock, water; at 2½ o'clock, mash, at 3 o'clock hay; and then straw, and they are left to lie down; and at 6 o'clock, they get straw for the night.

The rotation of crops on this farm is, 1st, oats for threshing, not for feeding while in the straw; 2nd, fallow; 3rd, wheat, with 12lbs. red clover, 4lbs. rye-

grass, and 4lbs. timothy grass; 4th, hay, once mown, and then pastured; 5th, oats; 6th, dunged barley and mixed corn, viz., pease, oats, and tares; 7th, oats, with 8lbs. red, 4lbs. white cloyer, 4lbs. timothy grass, and 4lbs. rye-grass; 8th, hay; and, after it is mown, a compost of house-dung and peat earth, or a coat of marle, is spread over the land, and it is left in pasture for three years, and then broken up.

The working stock on this farm consists of 14 horses, as good, or perhaps better, than on ordinary farms in Kent. The farmer pays of yearly rent for this farm 2000 dollars, which is about 222*l.* sterling, or about 10*s.* 2*d.* per imperial acre.

Of another larger concern I obtained the following information. The stock kept, 316 or 318 cows, 10 young cattle, 28 to 30 plough horses, one riding horse, two reserve horses, and two horses for the churn, and other dairy work. On this farm the cows and horses together, consume 700 fodder of hay, and the mixed corn crop produced on from 70 to 80 tonne of land, which is reckoned to be about 280 fodder of 16 feet per fodder. The cows have two feeds of this hay, and unthreshed corn straw, daily, until they calve; and after calving, and towards spring, three feeds. Each cow is reckoned to give yearly, on an average, 110lbs. of butter, and 120lbs. of cheese. The servants, cow-herds, grieves, are in general married men, and have cottages, gardens, and a cow kept along with the farm stock. The grieves have 40 dollars (4*l.* 12*s.*) yearly; the common servants, 32 dollars (3*l.* 15*s.*) in money, also 4 tons (nearly 2 quarters imperial) of rye, 4 tons of barley, and 8000 pieces of dry peat for fuel. The wives and daughters of the married servants work on the farm

for wages, and receive, for half the year, 6 skillings (2 pence) per day, for one quarter of the year 8 skillings ($3\frac{1}{2}$ pence), and for one quarter, 9 skillings ($4\frac{1}{4}$ pence). The day labourers have each a house, garden, 3 tonne (about 4 acres) of land, and 8000 dry peats, and pay to the proprietor, whose tenants they are, and not the verpachter's, a rent of 12 dollars (1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), yearly. They receive in wages 12 skillings ($5\frac{1}{4}$ pence), 10 skillings ($4\frac{1}{2}$ pence), and 8 skillings ($3\frac{1}{2}$ pence), per day, according to the different seasons of the year. The peasant tenants of the estate are bound to work the land of the day labourers, and to prepare their peats, and receive a fixed payment of 4 dollars (9*s.* 9*d.*) from the labourers for this work. These trifling details are not unimportant, as they show the relations and connexion of the different classes with each other, and the care and interference, perhaps the too great care and interference, of the government; for all these terms were adjusted by government on the abolition of the unpaid labour of serfage, for the protection of the labouring class. But in an agricultural country, the working man has no variety of employments to seek a living in; if his land-master is unjust or oppressive, he cannot protect himself by seeking other employment, and the government must interfere more for his protection than where there is a great variety of employments, even for common hand labour, and a great demand for it.

The extent of this farm is 1126 tonne, or about 1407 acres imperial, and 986 tonne are arable, and 140 tonne meadow, or old grass land. The rotation of crops is, 1st year, fallow; 2d, rape-seed; 3rd, wheat; 4th, barley; 5th, tares or vetches; 6th, oats and rye; 7th, clover for the scythe; 8th to 11th

year, pasture. It appears a rotation in which grain crops are too often repeated; but the command of manure on these great dairy farms may, perhaps, allow of rotations which we would condemn as exhausting. The rent of this farm, including all rates and taxes, is 6000 dollars, which, at 9 dollars to the pound sterling, is 666*l.* 13*s.*, or about 9*s.* 6*d.* per acre.

In the management of these large dairy farms the preparing, and marketing to advantage, the various products, is a very complicated business, requiring great experience and intelligence, large capital, and mercantile habits, and knowledge of accounts, calculations, and book-keeping; and in fact, it takes the verpachter out of the class of farmers properly so called, and brings him into the class of merchant manufacturers, who work up a raw material to its final use, and sell it in a foreign market. He is necessarily a man of the counting-house rather than of the plough. The traveller will observe, in the state of the arable fields on these large dairy farms, something of this over-extension of the farmer's business, and of his having too much to do in the manufacturing branch of it, to attend properly to the land. It is exceedingly foul, and as cattle will eat many kinds of weeds dried with their fodder, which a corn farmer would be ashamed to see in his fields, there is less attention and labour bestowed than in our farming, on cleaning the land. All that grows is gathered and stowed away in the immense lofts and barns, which hold the winter fodder of the crops. The rotation of crops appears faulty, and the cleaning of the land by turnip crops, or beans in drills, seems unknown. A bare summer fallow for

wheat or rye, sown in autumn, and only coming round once in eight or ten years, appears to be the only cleaning process, and the soil being naturally rich and abundantly manured, the growth of weeds is very great.

There is a class of dairymen who, in some cases, hire the cows from the verpachter or proprietor, and undertake all the dairy business, paying a certain sum yearly for each cow. They are called Hollanders, as they came originally from Holland, where butter and cheese-making was better understood; and the class of verpachters grew out of this class of dairymen. On one farm keeping a milking stock of 315 cows, I understood that a Hollander hires them, and pays 19 dollars (2*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* sterling) for each cow. The feeding of the cows, the fuel, utensils, terms, and adjustment of the labour, and of all that is required in dairywork, must make the conditions of such bargains very variable, but such agreements are not uncommon.

A practice in husbandry exploded long ago among us, and now only seen on the small farms of cottars in Ireland, or in the north of Scotland, has been revived here, and is approved of by many. It is that of fastening or tethering the cows and horses on the pastures, especially on the sown grasses, instead of allowing them to roam at large over the field. A hundred or two hundred cows tethered in a line, to eat off the grass regularly, with one or two men attending them, with mallets to drive the stakes into the ground, and shifting the whole line of cattle three times a day, appears a novelty, but is an old practice still found on a small scale among cottars in Scotland. The farmers who have tried it, speak

favourably of the practice. They say their cattle destroyed more pasture with their feet than with their mouths, in wandering about a field in the old way; that they usually flock to a particular spot in a field, and eat it bare, leaving other parts to grow rank and uneatable; that the manure they drop is not spread equally over the pasture, but is confined to spots which, in the after crops, are too luxuriant while the rest of the land is too poor; that gathering and chasing the cows to bring them to the milk maids is often hurtful, and that after the cows are accustomed to be tethered, they give more milk than when they roamed about at large. Some say they can keep ten per cent. more cattle tethered than free. The opponents of the practice allege against it the trouble and expense of attendance on two or three hundred head of cattle standing on tether, the exposure of the cattle to the weather on cold or rainy nights when they would seek the lee of the hedges if they were free, and the danger of accidents in the night, from cattle getting loose, being frightened, and entangling themselves and others in their halters. The headstalls for the cows, the stakes, and halters with a swivel in middle to prevent the rope from twisting up into knots, are exactly the same as used in those parts of Scotland in which the cow is still tethered between the patches of corn land on the cottar-farm. It would be curious enough if this ancient practice should be revived, and proclaimed to be a new and great improvement. Such things do occur in modern agriculture. The cultivation of flax, which was exploded and even prohibited in leases, as a crop exhausting the land and returning nothing to it, is now recommended. The folding of sheep on the land

was scouted at, forty years ago, by all Scotch farmers, as an old-fashioned English practice altogether worthless, and long tirades against it will be found in the Farmer's Magazines of those days. Now it is universally adopted in the best farmed districts of Scotland, as better husbandry than carting all the turnip crop to the homestead, and carting it back in manure to the fields, and poaching the land with carts and horses. The sheep themselves were found to be the best dung carriers, and the old English practice came into favour.

The country people here are well lodged. The class of verpachters have good roomy houses, suitable to wealthy educated people. Many of them occupy the whole, or a wing, of the original mansion house of the estate, and which in general is out of proportion to its size. None of these mansions that I have seen appear of older date than the 18th century, although the remains of a moat around some of them indicate that the modern Frenchified chateau, with its two wings, occupies the site of a baronial residence of feudal times. The cow-houses, barns, and other farm offices around them, are on a magnificent scale; and all the cattle on a farm keeping two or three hundred head of cows, and all their provender for the winter, being under roof, the size of the farm buildings is enormous. I found the dimensions of one cow-house to be 192 feet in length by 72 feet in breadth, and with two aisles, or bays, as these barn projections are called in England, for threshing in. It held two hundred cows, and overhead was a loft holding the crops of hay and corn. The small farmers, whether tenants or peasant proprietors, have substantial brick dwellings of great length and breadth,

with a steep, high-pitched roof of thatch giving a spacious loft under it for holding the whole of the crops. A wide folding door in each gable-end allows the farm waggon to be driven into and through the middle of the house. On one side are the cows and horses, in the middle is the road through the house, generally wide enough for two of the narrow waggons of the country to pass each other, and on the other side are the dwelling apartments. There are no upstair rooms, the loft being used for stowing the hay and corn crops. The windows are numerous, and the apartments are in general clean as well as light. The washing and scrubbing, indispensable in dairy husbandry, has become habitual, as in Holland, to the females, and is carried into the sitting-room and kitchen.

It is a peculiar trait in the social state and character of the peasant proprietor in Sleswick, Jutland, and the Danish islands, that he always builds a house if his forefathers have not done it for him, besides the main house of his farm, for himself to dwell in when he gets old; and he retires in old age and gives up the property to his son. This generally takes place when he is about sixty. He reserves for his subsistence a certain portion of the crops to be delivered to him, yearly, and a cow or two, with land or fodder to keep them, and gives up to his son or heir the house, farm, stock, and management. There is no tendency here to division and subdivision of the land. The widow is always, and the heirs-portioners generally, provided for in this way, and the land is kept together, although burdened with life-rent payments. The tendency among the class of peasant proprietors has been to augment, not to

diminish the extent of their estates, and they are often the purchasers of large estates, by joining together, and dividing the purchase among themselves. The houses of this class are of brick, in wooden frames, as in English farm-houses. The dwelling of the labourer is of clay spread on wattles, and in his cottage bricks are only used where the fire-place and oven are placed. The cottages are exactly like those of the same class of people in our midland counties. Every family of this class keeps a goat or two tethered on the roadside, and attended and brought home by the children to be milked. A garden, some land, and a cow belong to the poorest of the labouring householders. Buckwheat is a favourite crop among the small farmers, and enters very much into the diet of the people, and takes the place of potatoes, or rather of oatmeal, in their daily food. It is used in broth, porridge, pudding, but will not rise and bake into loaves. The ordinary bread of the working man is the black loaf of rye; wheaten bread is a delicacy not to be found in every village. The rye-bread, if the flour has been well sifted, is brown, not black, is not unpalatable, and is very substantial and wholesome. The people of the class of small peasant proprietors live well. My usual fare in the house of a widow of one of them, is milk, butter, cheese (the little farm keeping nine cows), and eggs, eels parboiled and smoked, smoked ham, and sometimes fresh meat, a butcher coming round weekly, as in our English villages. Tradesmen in the ordinary crafts, tailors, shoemakers, smiths, weavers, appear well lodged. They have generally a small portion or inheritance of land, or an equivalent yearly payment out of the paternal

estate, which enables them to subsist even with a very small amount of trade. The schoolmaster and the apothecary are generally the best housed inhabitants of these villages, excepting always the public functionaries and the clergy, if there be any residing in them. The attorney is the great man in the English village; but the lawyers are congregated here in the towns in which the law courts sit; and in Denmark, the courts of arbitration, in which parties must appear and state their cases through the clerk of court, without the intervention of lawyers, and in which almost all petty cases are adjusted without law expenses to the parties, have extinguished much of the trade of those country law agents, who live by fomenting trifling disputes in the lower courts.

CHAP. VII.

EKERNFIORDE — TOWN. — LANDED PROPERTY. — THE PROBSTEI. — GAVELKIND. — LARGE FARMS. — ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. — MEASURE OF LAND. — RENT. — RENT OF STOCK INCLUDED IN THE LAND RENT. — SEMI-FEUDAL STATE. — STRUGGLE TO RETURN TO THE OLD SYSTEM. — THE GERMAN AND DANISH PARTY. — THE DAIRY HUSBANDRY. — THE NOBLES. — THE PEASANT PROPRIETORS. — TENDENCY AMONG THE PEASANT PROPRIETORS TO AUGMENT, NOT DIMINISH OR DIVIDE, THEIR LAND. — CAUSES PHYSICAL AND MORAL PREVENTING DIVISION AND SUB-DIVISION. — DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CELTIC AND GALLIC RACE MORAL AS WELL AS PHYSICAL. — ANGELN. — CHARACTER OF PEASANT PROPRIETORS. — POOR-HOUSE THERE. — DITMARSH. — EYDERSTEDT. — PEASANT PROPRIETORS — THEIR SOCIAL STATE. — THE RIVER EYDER. — THE SORGE. — THE TREENE. — THE LAND GAINED BY EMBANKMENTS INHABITED BY SMALL REPUBLICS OF PEASANT PROPRIETORS — THEIR PRIVILEGES RESPECTED BY THE DANISH GOVERNMENT. — THIS COUNTRY MORE EXTENSIVE FORMERLY. — GREAT INUNDATION AND LOSS OF LIFE IN 1634. — EKERNFIORDE. — THE FORMATION OF ITS FIORD. — CAPTURE OF THE GEFION FRIGATE. — FEW TRACES OF THE DEVASTATION OF WAR TO BE SEEN. — THE OBJECT OF THIS UNPRINCIPLED WAR MAY BE ATTAINED FROM THE SUPINE STATE OF THE BRITISH CABINET. — AMERICA THE PROPER ALLY AND PROTECTOR OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE WEAKER POWERS IN EUROPE.

EKERNFIORDE, 1851. — This is a lively little town. It is a sea-bathing place for the surrounding country, and a little metropolis for the wealthy peasantry of Angeln, and the verpachters and tenants of the larger baronial estates, which are numerous in this part of the country. The adjacent districts of Swanzen and Danischwald consist almost entirely of baronial estates. The town has its newspaper, its reading-rooms, its booksellers' shops, although its population does not exceed five-and-twenty hundred inhabitants, including a kind of military hospital for invalid soldiers or pensioners, who are provided for by

government, and occupy small neat houses in a street of their own. Here, as in America, very small agricultural populations support newspapers, reading, musical, and theatrical clubs and schools.

The baronial estates of considerable extent are situated principally on the coast side from Lubeck to this fiord, and up both sides of the Eider river or canal, but intermixed with the many smaller peasant possessions, and with whole districts occupied entirely by peasant proprietors. The Probstei is a district of about five square miles, between Kiel and Lubeck, in which there are no estates of nobles. It belonged originally to a count of Orlamonde, who bestowed it, about the year 1216, on a convent of nuns of noble birth, which he founded in a little town called Preetz, about ten miles from Kiel. This establishment was preserved at the Reformation. An account of it will be found in my "Observations on the social and political state of the European people in 1848-49." The peasants, or hufner, on this estate, appear to be a kind of copyholders, having hereditary right to their holdings, but paying certain fixed yearly quit rents for their land to the convent. They are distinguished by their costume from the other inhabitants of Holstein, and are reckoned to be about 6000 in number, and their land the best on the Baltic side of the Peninsula. It is remarkable that here, as in some districts of Kent, the succession by Gavelkind prevails — the youngest son, and not the oldest, succeeds to the father's land. The origin of this custom has been fancifully ascribed to the feudal jus primæ noctis, which rendered it doubtful (if such a right ever really existed) whether the eldest son of a marriage in the class of peasantry was the son of the husband.

But the real origin is more natural. The actual labourer on the land was but a serf in social position, very far below the man-at-arms, whom he had to support in the baron's castle, or suite, or upon piratical expeditions, and the elder sons threw the burden of holding the land, which was a burden of serfage, little, if at all, superior to personal slavery, upon the younger son.

Some of the largest dairy farms, and of the best managed, are on the estates of nobles in this neighbourhood. I have in the previous note given some information on their extent and management, but having gathered more, I will give it here, at the risk of making tedious repetitions. The farms, keeping 200, or even 300 cows, summer and winter, without turnips, mangel-worsel, or other root-crops, making the grain-crops secondary and subsidiary to the manufacture of butter and cheese, instead of being the main objects, and trusting to the sale of these articles in the London market for rent and profits, appear to me very curious and interesting, and more worthy of notice than any other subject of inquiry the traveller meets with in the duchies. I propose to gather into this note all the additional information I could obtain here about these large farms and their management. To a numerous class of farmers and landowners it may be interesting to know what rents are paid for land, and by what means any rents at all are paid, in a country doomed by the bounty of nature to be always under the pressure of the utmost evil that a free importation of corn can produce among us, viz., a redundancy of corn beyond what all the human mouths in the country can consume.

The square measure of land in Denmark and the

Duchies, is called a tonne of land. This term has probably had some reference originally to the measure of capacity, also called a tonne or barrel, given to the quantity of corn used in sowing a certain area of land. This measure called a tonne is somewhat less than half a quarter of English corn measure. The measure of land called a tonne is different in different districts. In some it is 60, in some 240, in some 260, in some 300 Holstein perches. In speaking of land I observed the farmer always gave the denomination of tonne he was talking of, viz., tonne of 240 ruthen, even in conversing with his neighbours; and a square of 240 ruthe, or perches, appears to be the tonne in this part of the country. The French attempt to introduce the metre and its decimal parts, universally in long and square measures on the Continent, has been of considerable use, by giving a common measure, by which all countries can adjust their measures and weights to each other; for in every country the learned fixed with considerable care the proportion their usual local measures bore to the French metre. The Danish tonne is equal to 55·471 French are, and the French are to 119·603 English square yards, of which 4840 go to the English acre. In the south-west districts of Holstein and Sleswick, the *demath* is the name of the tonne, and contains 220 square ruthen, equal to 11·735 Danish square feet. The Holstein ruthe or perch being to the Danish ruthe or perch as 15 to 32, and the Danish square ruthe being equal to 9848 square French metres. The tonne of 240 square ruthen of land, which is the measure used by the verpachters in this neighbourhood, is equal to about $1\frac{1}{4}$ English acres, or nearly 1 Scotch acre.

The rent paid for a small farm of 60 tonne, or about 75 acres, keeping 4 horses, 11 milking cows, 2 young stirks, and 1 calf, 4 swine, 5 sheep, is 201 dollars, the tax on trade and occupations (the only tax paid to the state by the occupant of land before the late commotion) was 3 dollars, and poor-rate was 3 skillings, not quite 1*d.* per tonne. The tenant had also to furnish yearly 10 two-horse cartages, and to keep doors and windows in repair, the landlord making the greater repairs. This rent amounting, in all, to 206 dollars; the money payment is about six shillings and three half-pence per acre. The fields are in 9 divisions; and the rotation on them is, 1 in fallow or buckwheat, 1 in winter corn, chiefly rye, 1 in barley, 2 in oats, part laid down with clover, 4 in old pasture grass, of which 1 field is mowed for hay. This farm keeps 2 men servants and 2 maids, the former receive 30 dollars (about 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) yearly, the latter 18 dollars (or 2*l.*), besides their board. This little farm, being near the town, has an advantage in the sale of milk, &c. It is an example of the ordinary size, rotation of crops, and rents of the class of small farmers called hufners. Some of them are proprietors, and some tenants in life-rent, or in perpetuity, and their stock is their own. It is to be observed, that the rent here of large farms does not represent merely what the tenant, the verpachter, pays to the landlord for the use of his land, but also what he pays for the use of the landlord's stock of milking and working cattle, his seed, and utensils. These, the cows, the horses, the seed-corn, the waggons, the farm utensils, belonged originally to the proprietor of those large farms when they were his baronial domains, farmed for him by his land-bailiff, and by the unpaid labour of his serfs

or cottar-tenants. This stock, let to the tenant, and to be returned at the expiry of his lease, in equal numbers and value, was by no means so contemptible in quality here, as such stock in the poorer or higher districts of Scotland was, about a century ago, when the same system existed there. It is generally understood in Scotland, that a farmer, entering on a farm, must have a capital equal to three years' rent to stock it suitably and safely for the proprietor and himself. Here the stock is generally much more valuable than three years' rents would purchase, the horses, and especially the milking cattle, being often of choice breeds, reared and improved by the proprietor, and the cows in full milk to begin with. Allowing only three years' rent for the value of the stock let with the land, the interest at 4 per cent. of a capital equal to three years of the land rent of such a farm, reduces what the landlord receives for the use of his land alone to a very inconsiderable rate per acre. The stock on one farm was 346 to 348 cows, 10 young cattle, 28 to 30 work horses, 1 riding horse, 2 reserve horses, and 3 horses for the dairy work, viz., the churning and other work about the homestead. The cows, which are all of the Angeln breed, the original race of all our English breeds of cattle, are brought to calve at two years old. It is considered here that they prove better milkers than the cows which are only brought in to be calving at three years old. They have two feeds of hay daily until they calve, then three feeds, and, towards spring, four feeds. Each cow, on an average, produces 110 lbs. of butter and 120 lbs. of cheese, Dutch weight. The cattle stock, including the horses, consumed, in the course of the winter, 700 fodder of hay, the fodder of 16

feet, also 279 fodder of unthreshed grain, reckoned to have been equal to about 820 quarters of grain, if it had been threshed, and which was given in two feeds daily. The rotation of crops on this farm is in 11 shifts, which appears to be the ordinary rotation or course of farming in this country.—1st, fallow; 2nd, rape-seed; 3rd, wheat; 4th, barley; 5th, vetches; 6th, oats and rye; 7th, clover for mowing; 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, pasture. But of the 1232 arable acres, about 260 are in a somewhat different course, viz., 1st, fallow; 2nd, winter corn; 3rd, barley; 4th, beans and vetches, with grey pease; 5th, oats with clover seeds; 6th and 7th, pasture. The pasture land is sown with 8 lbs. of red clover seed and 4 lbs. white. This rotation of crops, the years of pasturage or rest for the land being extended or abridged, according to circumstances, appears to be general. Turnips, or other root-crops, and beans in drills, as cleaning crops, and preparatory to barley, do not enter into the farm management here. The dung is given to the naked summer fallow, which is sown in autumn with wheat or rape seed. If rape be the first crop after the dunged fallow, it is followed by wheat or rye, and barley follows the wheat, mixed corn for fodder follows the barley, oats follow the mixed corn, and then the field is left to rest in pasture. We have no land in Scotland that would stand such a succession of 5 grain crops running. On inquiring what was reckoned a good crop from land thus farmed, I found that about 5 quarters of wheat, or 6 quarters of rye, 6 quarters of barley, and from 6 to 7 quarters of oats, were considered good returns from the acre of our measure, and about 4 bushels of wheat or rye, and between 3 and 4 of barley, and 6 bushels

of oats, were the quantities of seed given to the land. With the oats, 8 lbs. of red clover, 4 lbs. of white, and 4 lbs. of timothy grass, are sown.

The returns from 200 cows, young stock being for some time reared on the milk to replace the old, upon an average of 10 years, appear to have been 21,935 lbs. of butter, and 28,183 lbs. of cheese, yearly, or 109 lbs. of butter, and 140 lbs. of cheese, per cow; and where the cows were let to a dairyman, or Hollander, 2*l.* 2*s.* per head was the rent or hire for the milk, the owner, or verpachter, finding the food, and attendance on the cows, the utensils, fuel, &c., and the dairyman finding the dairy work; but it is evident that so many conditions on both sides must enter into the account and alter the money value, that a better estimate of this dairy husbandry may be gathered from the average amount of butter and cheese from a stock of cows, and the average price of those commodities, and also of the pigs, in the ordinary markets. The expense of labourage on these dairy farms, over and above what the cultivation of the land requires, is considerable. A dairymaid is required for every sixteen or eighteen cows, at 2*l.* sterling generally of wages, besides her food; and a housekeeper, a cooper, an upper dairy woman, cowherds, swineherds, and housemaids cannot be dispensed with where so many cattle and people are lodged and boarded; and not only grieves, or superintendents, are required in these large establishments, but a regular and experienced clerk to keep the accounts and books.

The economy of labour was not much regarded here by the baronial proprietors who held and farmed their domains themselves. They had the labour of

their small tenants, or serfs, for nothing, or at least, in part payment of rents, which could be paid in no other way. About these large farms there are still a great many small holdings of land for which labour is paid, and some of these are hereditary, some life-rents, some again possessions on which the proprietor of the barony could show no claim except to a certain fixed number of days' services on the baronial farm, or mains. The courts of law and the government took a different view of the feudal relation between the cottar and lord of the manor from that of the Scotch courts, and one more akin to the view and practice of the English courts. The cottar, or small tenant, might be liable for services in respect of his land to the feudal baron or lord of the manor, but yet might be the proprietor of his piece of land in copyhold, as clearly and legally as the baron of his manorial land; and if the former, the peasant, could show uninterrupted prescriptive possession, he was deemed a copyholder, and could not be ejected, as were the small tenantry of the Highlands owing to the different view taken by the Scotch courts, or rather owing to the question, in consequence of the poverty of the ejected Highlanders, never having been brought before them. Holstein and South Sleswick are still in a semi-feudal state, although the serfs are liberated, and the nobles reduced in power and privilege; and the verpachters have taken their place in the country, and act for their creditors on their estates. The struggle now is on the part of the verpachters and mortgagees of the land of the nobles, to get the land of the small peasant holders in the barony into their hands, or at least to get such power over the holders of the small properties, that

they may be made to work on the barony farm when called upon by the verpachter, and on his conditions, or be ejected. The government, on the other hand, ever since the abolition of the feudal liebeigenschaft, has carefully supported this class against every attempt to reduce them to their former state. The Stände, or states in the Diets of Sleswick and Holstein, represent the interests of the nobles, verpachters, attornies and administrators of mortgaged and entailed estates, and would recall, as far as possible, the ancient feudal rights to the unpaid labour of the peasantry, and the unchecked control over them on their land. The struggle between the German and the Danish parties, between a Diet of the Ritterschaft, and other classes represented by the Stände, and the representative parliament of the Danish kingdom, turns mainly on these conflicting interests; and is about as reasonable as if the lairds and verpachters, or sheep farmers, in Perthshire, or Invernesshire, should insist on having a parliament of their own, because they speak Gaelic, and wish to make laws for the cottars and peasantry on the ground, at their own discretion, and similar to those which existed before the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions. To us it appears, although we live in a small country, with its own small local prejudices, to be a most ridiculous assumption for one-third of a county population to dismember a kingdom, and attach their district to Germany instead of Denmark, to which it belongs by right, and by treaties, simply because the one-third speak German, and form a German party, with different pecuniary interests from the majority. It assumes, however, a more formidable, although not less unreasonable aspect as an international question,

when it is examined closely. This German interest is backed by a powerful capitalist interest in Berlin, Hamburgh, and other German cities. The estates of the nobles in Holstein and South Sleswick, are very generally mortgaged so deeply to capitalists in Germany, that the owners have nothing to do with them. The verpachters are put in by the mortgagees, not by the landowner, and manage for them, not for him. They wish naturally to get back all the advantages, or supposed advantages, which the former feudal state of the country gave to the baronial landowner, and they, as a monied body, have great political influence, both at Berlin and Vienna. This is the real German interest in Sleswick. Three-fourths of the landed proprietors, possessing more than two-thirds of the landed property, are Danish in language, interests, and feelings; but there is a Prussian and a monied interest against them.

The great expenditure of money by the original proprietors of those estates in erecting vast, and extravagantly costly farm-steadings, such as large barns, cowhouses, dairy houses, stables, piggeries, and the very small returns as rent for the land, and stock, and outlay, will account for the embarrassed circumstances of the class of nobles, and perhaps for the prosperity of the class of verpachters, attorneys, and money-lenders. The accommodations may be very convenient, useful, and economical for the verpachter, but it would take many years of his rent to repay the landowner for his outlay in making them. He has built them without reference to the returns a tenant occupying the farm would give him for such magnificent brick buildings. It is considered necessary, either from climate or custom, to have every

thing under roof in winter, both stock and crop. It would be presumption in a stranger to say that the crops might be stacked out of doors, as in the north of England, and throughout all Scotland, and the enormous cost of those immense barns avoided. It is not the first cost only, which falls on the proprietor, but there is a yearly cost, which falls on the tenant, and makes this way of securing the crops exceedingly expensive. In some of these lofty barns it requires fourteen men to pitch the sheaves from one to another, from the waggon to the uppermost tier under the lofty high-peaked barn roof. It is remarkable that in the southern counties of England, such as Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, in which the Anglo-Saxons settled, this system of large barns for holding all the crops of a farm, prevails to this day, and is a source of great expense to the landlords. It appears to be in England merely an hereditary custom derived from their ancestors; for in the northern counties, in which it would be more necessary, if the preservation of the crops from rain or snow were the object, the crops are stacked out of doors, and no larger barns are required by the tenant than are sufficient to contain a single stack while it is being threshed. It is possible that the straw may be more palatable to the cattle, and more suitable for dairy feeding, than if it were dried and hardened by free exposure to the air and wind in small stacks in the barn-yard. The verpachters are too intelligent and well-educated a class of farmers to continue the practice, even although they have the accommodation, if it were not recommended by some advantage. This dairy husbandry, in which grain crops and all farming operations are but subsidiary to the products

of the dairy, has probably been forced upon this country, and all the north-western parts of the Continent, by our former corn-laws. Lubeck, Hamburg, and one or two other towns excepted, no populations of any importance consume more grain than a small circle of land around them can supply. There was always an unsaleable surplus of grain in the interior of those districts, more than the home markets required; and the English market was either shut altogether, or, by the sliding scale of duties, rendered very uncertain and expensive. The arable land was, of necessity, applied to the production of the articles of dairy husbandry. It may be doubted if this husbandry be so profitable to all parties as corn husbandry. Deducting the interest of the capital sunk in those enormous barns, cow-houses, and dairy buildings, their annual repairs, and assurance against fire; deducting also the interest of capital invested in the stock of cattle, &c. let with the farm, the rent which the landlord receives for his land is almost nominal. The whole class of nobles, holding baronial estates, have been impoverished, and many of them ruined by the expense of turning their land to account by the system of dairy husbandry, into which circumstances, and especially want of markets for the simpler and less expensive products of corn husbandry, have forced them. The tenants or verpachters, however, do not sleep in clover under this system. Their leases are for nine years in general, and their rotation of cropping is of the same duration. The tenant does not see the same field under the same crop again, in the course of his lease, and has not the benefit of knowing from experience how to manage it. He has therefore no inducement to

clean his land by green crops, or bare fallow out of the old rotation, or even to lay it dry by draining, because every kind of weeds and rubbish that grows on the land is of use in cow farming, either for bedding, or food. He is hampered in rearing, or feeding cattle for sale, by having to keep up a stock of milking cows not belonging to himself, and which require all the food the farm can produce. With the English market open to him for the sale of cattle and corn, he could do better, perhaps, than expend all his farm produces on raising dairy commodities. He is hampered in his rotation of crops by the necessity of keeping a large proportion of his land under permanent grass, and under sown grass of three years' standing, for pasturing, during the summer half year, the standing stock of milk cows. He is overburdened with a crowd of labourers who must be fed, paid, and superintended, and who, from the great variety of detailed work about a large dairy farm, cannot be dispensed with. He is a manufacturer rather than a farmer, and his land is almost unavoidably ill-farmed, and foul. There is one redeeming advantage, however, overbalancing, perhaps, all these disadvantages in the husbandry of which dairy produce is the basis—it yields abundance of manure for the land. Town manure is not to be got where towns are scarce, and the town inhabitants, even in pretty large places, have themselves farms, gardens, or fields near the towns. Sheep, from the want of markets for mutton, are not kept in great numbers in this country, and not at all for their use in manuring the land, the turnip husbandry, and sheep feeding on the land in winter, not being considered prac-

ticable, owing to frost and snow. Marle abounds, but the land is saturated with marle. Animal manure can only be got from the cow-houses, stables, and piggeries; and, by the dairy husbandry, it is produced within the farm, and the cows being highly fed all winter on crushed grain, mashes of oilcake, oats, and hay, the manure made is of the best quality. The fallow for rape, or wheat, is always dunged, and when barley follows wheat, or one grain crop is taken after another, the land is always half dunged for the second crop; the meadows, also, are top dressed, and the sown grass every year receives manure. It may be doubted if any other system of husbandry would have kept the land here in such a state of fertility under such a severe and scourging rotation of crops.

These large dairy farms, and baronial estates, are almost confined to the coast-side land along the Baltic, and for a few miles up each side of the canal: reckoning Angeln held by small peasant proprietors, the Probstei by small copyholders, and the numerous small estates interspersed among, and probably obtained originally from, the baronial domains, one-half at least of the land between Lubeck and Flendsburg is in the hands of small proprietors.

The tendency to the division and subdivision of the land into portions too small to afford the owner a civilised subsistence, which is the case it is said in France, and even in Belgium, and certainly is the case in Ireland, is counteracted here by causes, partly physical, partly moral. The short spring season, as mentioned before, prevents spade husbandry. Between the disappearance of frost from the ground, and the full summer, when it is too late to sow or

plant, the interval is too short to allow of a potato crop, to support a family, being obtained by spade work. Horses, and land enough to support horses, are indispensable for the smallest landed property, although in countries like France or Ireland, which enjoy milder winters, a great deal may be effected by spade husbandry. The want of stone, also, or of any building material that is cheap and on the spot, and the severity of the winter requiring substantial houses for all kinds of stock and crops, and which turf houses, like the Irish or Scotch, could not withstand, are causes which prevent the too minute division of land. The fuel also, peat, although cheaper than wood, costs money, and a piece of land without a peatmoss, or a privilege in a moss, would be untenable, if it were too small to yield anything but a bare subsistence. The manorial rights also, where the peasant proprietors are copyholders, as in the Probstei, paying certain quit rents to the superior, or lord of the manor, prevent the division and subdivision without the sanction of, and adjustment with, the feudal superior. The moral causes are — education — a high standard of living as regards food and lodging among the lowest of the labouring class, as appears from the dietary of farm servants given in a former note, — and a great self-respect, and civilisation among the peasant proprietors, in consequence of the great admixture in this class of substantial, and not merely thriving individuals, but of men who have thriven, and are opulent enough, and ambitious enough to buy land, and increase their original estates. The tendency among the peasantry, both in Denmark Proper and in the Duchies, is to augment, not to divide and diminish, their land; and

it is not at all uncommon for them, as observed before, to club together and purchase crown lands or other estates, and then divide the property among themselves according to their shares in the purchase. Whether the French peasant proprietors will ever attain this forethought and prudence, may be doubtful. It is in the race of the peasantry of the north, and of their descendants in England, and the lowlands of Scotland, to value more highly than the Celtic race do, the enjoyments and luxuries of civilised life. This characteristic moral difference between the two races, the Celtic and the Gothic, is altogether as distinctly marked as the physical difference of the hair, eye, or skin. In Ireland, in France, in the Scotch highlands, and wheresoever the Celtic race predominates, the peasant seems naturally to care little for the tastes which the accumulation of wealth would enable him to enjoy. He has no industry, because he has no wants, or acquired tastes to gratify. He divides, and subdivides his land, his food, his lodgings, with his children, and appears insensible to the difference between civilised enjoyments, and the animal gratifications. In all countries and climates, and under all circumstances, this character shows itself, and seems innate in the Celtic race. The peasant of the other race, in Germany, or in Scandinavia, has nothing in common with this peasant but the name. Here in Holstein, Sleswick, and Denmark, the emancipation of the peasantry on the baronial estates from personal servitude, was only completed in the beginning of this century; their participation in equal law, and just administration of it, is of still more recent date, and political rights in a representative

constitutional government are not even cared for now, or valued, yet they have made greater progress in the tastes and requirements of civilised life, and in the habits of industry, and accumulation of property to gratify those tastes and requirements, than the Celtic peasantry of Ireland, or Scotland, have made since the earliest notice of them in history. Mis-government cannot account for this difference. The dietary of the labouring man of the peasantry class here, as stated in a former note, compared with the pot of potatoes, or kail, or oatmeal porridge, indicates a greater progress of the lowest class in food, and consequently in the industry by which food is earned, and a higher standard of subsistence maintained.

It is one of the questions which must have often occurred to the social philosopher speculating upon the future destiny of civilised society, whether the Slavonic race now in immediate contact with the European races, partake of the social character of the Gothic element, or of the Celtic; are progressive in civilisation, and capable of being imbued with its tastes, habits, and influences, like the Gothic race, or are non-progressive, and stationary at a mere animal standard of existence, like the Celtic race. Travellers give little information on the tendency of the Russian, and other Slavonic people, to imbibe civilisation, or to remain, like the Celtic race, impassive to its influences; but the Russian serf appears, from many accounts, to be a man of more civilised habits, with more acquired tastes, and more industry to gratify them, and to be a better lodged, fed, and clothed man, than the Irish or Scotch Celtic cottar.

Angeln is a district between the fiord of Sleswick,

the Sley, and the fiord of Flendsburg, occupied, like the Probstei, almost entirely by small peasant proprietors. They however, do not, like the small farmers in the Probstei, hold their lands from a feudal superior subject to a quit rent, or to services, but are frecholders, in general, and the baronial estates in the district are few, and retain no feudal rights, if these ever existed. The land on the sides of the fiords, and the coast of the Baltic, is very fertile, is farmed on the same system,—that is, on the basis of a dairy husbandry, and in the same apparently faulty rotation of cropping—which cannot, however, be very faulty, and exhausting, seeing it has been in use for ages, and the land is still productive—and the peasant proprietors in Angeln are the wealthiest of their class on this eastern side of the peninsula. Good houses, mahogany articles of furniture in many, smart stoolwaggons, horses, and harness, and a good many visiting parties on the roads, denote a considerable opulence, and taste for the enjoyments which opulence commands. When we use the terms peasantry, and peasant-proprietors, we apply the words to classes in different countries who are the same only in their social position and political rights in regard to the other classes, but who are totally different in their means, manners, and civilisation, in different countries. Peasantry in Scotland, Ireland, France, England, means a class of tenants, or proprietors, of a small plot of land, a wretched cottage, with a cow or two, a pig, a cart, and pony perhaps, and a crop of potatoes and oats to feed the animals and family. Peasantry here means a class possessing land enough to keep, on an average of their farms, eight or

nine cows, two horses, with suitable houses, stock, and crops, and a very large proportion owning land which keeps from ten to forty cows, or more, and with all things in proportion. They are the peasantry compared to the class of landed proprietors, who keep from a hundred to four hundred cows on their estates, but in reality they are wealthy yeomanry, employing hired servants, and labourers, married and unmarried, to assist them in their farm work, and, as appears from the dietary given in a former note, feeding them well. The standard of living, and the spirit of opulence of this class are best illustrated by the care of the poor, and the unemployed. In the parish of Soerup, here in Angeln, these peasant proprietors have built by voluntary subscription among themselves, without rates, or government aid, a poor and work house in which, in 1847, before the late disturbances, there were fifty-four inmates, viz. twenty-three grown persons, and thirty-one children, kept in the most cleanly and orderly manner, and the regular dietary was two dishes for dinner, and twice a week, flesh meat. The good management, and the cheapness of provisions are shown by the expense of this aliment amounting only to from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{2}{5}$ skellings daily, per head; that is, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ farthings, to about one half-penny; but, of late, the expense has risen to $2\frac{1}{3}$ skellings, or about one penny, owing to the failure of potatoes, and the war. In this school of industry, various trades, as well as reading and writing, are taught the children; and the work of the men pays for their subsistence, and leaves a surplus; the work of the women and children, of course, does not. These are the peasantry con-

sidered in the functionary system of government incapable of managing for themselves; and who are now, by the fiat of the Austrian Government, to be ruled by a legislative body or diet of the Stände, or nobles, in which they are but nominally represented, and in which the nobles themselves are but the representatives of foreign money-lenders, their verpachters, and law agents.

On the west side of the peninsula the land is almost exclusively in the hands of peasant proprietors, like those in Angeln. From the mouth of the Elbe to the mouth of the Eyder, and northwards to Jutland, the district is called the Ditmarsh, and is perhaps the richest soil in the north of Europe. It has been gained from the rivers Elbe and Eyder, and from the North Sea, by numerous successive embankments, enclosing and defending from inundation small fields of mud and alluvial deposit. The feudal lord could not reclaim or protect from the waters these small islets, or *cogs* of land, as they are called, from being surrounded by a rim or dyke, like a dish, or cog, by the unpaid labour and superintendence of serfs and vassals. The eye and hand of the peasant-proprietor, living on, and watching his little property, could alone acquire and defend such enclosed spaces from the floods. This part of the duchies of Holstein and Sleswick is by far the most valuable, and has never been feudalised. The inhabitants were engaged in many wars in the fifteenth century, against the Dukes of Holstein and the Danish monarchs, and retain at present the institutions of a democracy, under an absolute monarchy. In the district of Eyderstedt the judges are chosen by the people, the functionaries for the administration of the affairs of

the district, the collection of the taxes and rates, the administration of justice, the police, the expenditure of the public funds, the affairs of the church, are all elected by the people, superintended by other functionaries appointed by the people, and unless in the connexion of the district with the general government by a common stadholder or representative of the king, it is in reality a republic on a small scale. These are social remains of a period when the peasantry of Ditmarsh really were a formidable power in this peninsula, and retained probably all the rights and institutions of the ancient German tribes before the feudal establishment. This was the country of the Frisi.

The river Eyder rises on the Baltic side of the peninsula, from the Flemhuder Lake or even nearer to the sea, and is navigable from Rendsburg for small vessels not drawing more than ten feet of water, to its mouth, at Tonningen, on the North Sea. The Flemhuder Lake is but twenty-eight feet above the level of the Baltic, and the canal from Rendsburg to the Baltic is about twenty miles in length, and is supplied with water for its locks to raise or lower vessels from the lake. The whole passage from the North Sea to the Baltic is about eighty-eight miles by the Eyder and the canal. The first branch river which joins the Eyder is the Sorge, the river of sorrow, which rises near Ekernfiorde, and passes into a district of bogs, morass, and sand, barren, uninhabitable, and cheerless, and deserving the name of Sorge, until it joins the Eyder. It is navigable for peat barges a little way. The Treene is the next and most considerable branch of the Eyder, which it joins at Friderickstadt. It rises from the bogs and morasses between the town of Sleswick and Flensburg, and

runs through a similar country until it reaches the marshland. None of these rivers are enclosed anywhere between high banks, but are dead, canal-like waterchannels, with no apparent current in them. With westerly winds and high spring-tides, forcing back the water at the mouth of the Eyder, these sluggish water ditches overflow the low banks, between which they stagnate, and the whole country is under water, except the cogs, which are defended by embankments and the main dykes, which have been raised to protect districts of embanked land. In such a country it is not a privilege merely of the inhabitants, but a necessary condition of its being inhabited, that the land must belong, in property, to the class of peasantry, and that the management of their common affairs — which are the defences and repairs of embankments, dykes, waterways, and the receipt and expenditure of their time, labour, and money on those objects,—should be in their own hands. These little republics in the bosom of an absolute monarchy are very remarkable. They are the only remains of the social state of the ancient Germans, or of what the social state would have been if the feudal system had not altered the structure of society. It is honourable to the Danish Government that these democratical privileges have been respected. One of the ancient privileges of the people of Ditmarsh was an exemption from import duties. A few years ago, the tea, tobacco, coffee, sugar, brandy, and such articles usually taxed for revenue, were free of duty in Ditmarsh, and the expense of maintaining officers of the customs to prevent the smuggling of these articles out of Ditmarsh into the parts of Holstein and Sleswick, where they were not free of duty, was consi-

derable. The absolute government of Denmark did not with a high hand suppress this privilege, but sent a commission to ascertain its value, and with the consent of the inhabitants purchased it, by giving an equivalent reduction of other taxes.

This land of the Frisi, in which such traces of the civil liberty and social institutions of the Germanic people described by Tacitus, are still visible, has been of much greater extent and population in former times than it now is. There are vague traditions of great tracts of land which are now submerged, of the islands of Fanoe, Sylt, Föhr, and others, and even of sand-banks, now far out at sea, beyond them, having once been part of the mainland which extended even to Heligoland; and fishermen tell of remains of walls and houses having been seen in calm weather by their forefathers, far out at sea, and in deep water. Little is known of this coast, or its changes, surprisingly little considering that it must have been in connexion and intercourse with England, down, at least, to the establishment of the heptarchy. It is probable, however, that great changes have taken place in the course of a thousand years similar to one of which we have historical record in 1634. On the 12th of October in that year, a violent storm of south-west wind had raised a heavy sea, and in the night time, with a spring tide at its height, the wind suddenly shifted to north-west, and threw such huge breakers on the coast that the sea-dykes gave way, and cattle, corn, houses, and people were overwhelmed. In Eyderstedt district alone, 2,107 persons were drowned, 604 houses demolished, and 18,000 head of cattle were lost. In the district of Flusum 1,000 people perished, and as many in the district of Ton-

dern; 15,000 persons, it was reckoned, perished in that dismal night in both duchies. The island of Nordstrand, of the most extensive and fertile arable and grass land, with 22 parish churches, was overflowed, and cut in two by the waves, and 6,408 of its inhabitants were carried off by the waters, 2,500 only escaping. Fifty thousand head of cattle are supposed to have perished. Yet this event, not more than two centuries old, and with which the calamities of the earthquake at Lisbon, or the eruptions of Vesuvius or Ætna, cannot be compared in magnitude of calamity, is scarcely noticed in history. How many of such inundations may have happened, and like this have been forgotten, in the twelve centuries between the first landing of the people of this district in England, and the date of this inundation in 1634? To some calamity of a similar kind, or to invasion, from the East, of some more barbarous people, must be ascribed the singular event of the fifth century, of the Anglo-Saxons leaving a better soil and country here, to seek land and subsistence, across the ocean, in England. Are not we, their descendants, seeking land and subsistence across the ocean, in America, and Australia, emigrating, as they did, impelled by the same motives, — love of adventure, or poverty, distress, and discontent at home, — and merely moving in a larger circle round the same centre? How small the difference, after all, in motives, and actions, between civilisation and barbarism!

Eckernfiorde is a neat little red-tiled town of about five hundred houses, situated at the extremity of a tongue of land between an inlet or fiord of the Baltic, and a small lake which has burst the barrier between them, and formed a channel at the west

end of it, of about a hundred yards wide, over which a wooden bridge leads into the town. The formation of these fiords from a chain of lakes, each gradually wearing away its eastern bank, from the prevalence of westerly winds in our latitudes, until it joins one to the east of it, and all at last by the same process forming a junction with the East Sea, is clearly shown at the head of this fiord. It is a lake above, or to the west of the spit of land on which the town is situated, and a fiord below, with depth of water for large vessels, but the channel between is narrow and shallow. The length of this fiord is about eight miles from its entrance in the Baltic; and its breadth, in general about a mile, but the navigable channel is narrow, the water being shallow towards the shore on each side.

In this fiord the "Gefion," the finest frigate in the Danish navy, was captured by the gallantry of a Bavarian serjeant of artillery in the "Schleswig-Holstein" army. He, with his small party, stood by his battery of two field-pieces, replying to the broadsides of the frigate with a well-directed fire, and disabled her so completely that, after a combat of a few hours, she surrendered. On looking at the scene of this memorable exploit, about a mile below the little town, one is even more astonished than at reading the account of it. What reasonable motive or object could have brought a frigate of forty-four guns into the far end of a narrow cul-de-sac, commanded from both sides, both sides occupied in force by the enemy, and without room in the navigable channel for a large vessel to tack, or beat out, in case of a change of wind, or of any accident to the steam-vessel which accompanied the expedition? If

the object was to bombard the petty town of Eckernfiorde, to destroy any military stores collected there, and to cut off the communication by the bridge of Eckernfiorde between the divisions of the enemy's army on each side of the fiord, the steam-vessel could have accomplished it better than a heavy ship of war. The communications could not be cut off by a naval force, because an hour's march would turn the head of the lake running into the fiord at the bridge, and bring troops round to either side of the fiord without being within the range of guns from the water. One inference to be drawn from this remarkable event, is, that naval officers cannot be formed on shore, or in naval academies, dock-yards, guard-ships, and summer cruizes in the Baltic or the North Sea. Seamanship and navigation may be taught at such schools, but the discretion, prudence, the eye to every thing, and the energy and resources of the naval officer, are gifts of nature, and experience in long service at sea.

It surprises me, in travelling through this part of Sleswick among the villages, and on the bye-roads, as well as on the main road from Kiel to Eckernfiorde, and the town of Sleswick, to see so few tokens of the ravages and devastation of war. For three years this country has been the scene of a bloody warfare. Seventy thousand men, of friends and foes, have been marching, fighting, and subsisting as soldiers, in a duchy not larger than one of our English counties, and one of the greatest battles of modern times has been fought here within these ten months, yet very few traces of war are to be seen. The fields are all under crop. The grass fields are well stocked with cattle. Horses are not scarce. Houses, which have

been demolished or burned, have been already rebuilt or repaired, and even about Dannewerk, Sleswick, Idstedt, and the country near the battle-field at that village, the traveller is only reminded of the great military operations so recently carried on, by the remains of the field redoubts and fortifications of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army upon the commanding points of the ground. Both armies have occupied the country alternately, and with a spirit of bitter animosity against each other, but the people of the country appear not to have taken such an interest in the cause as to excite the animosity of either party. They were in general passive; and discipline was enforced, and aggressions on property were prevented by the right feeling of the soldiers belonging to Holstein and Sleswick, raised by conscription, and who were in sufficient proportion to the volunteer adventurers gathered from all parts of Germany, to keep them in check, and prevent outrages. The Danish troops, again, were all quiet husbandmen themselves, with no disposition to waste or plunder, and under excellent discipline. An agricultural country, also, from the nature of its wealth and well being, recovers much sooner from the losses and inflictions of war than a manufacturing and commercial country. The crops on the ground may be injured or destroyed on the lines of march, and in the vicinity of encampments, but the soil remains to reproduce crops next season. Labour and seed are not so totally exhausted by any military requisitions, that the land remains untilled and unsown. Capital and means of reproduction are not so totally destroyed, as where machinery, shipping, goods, money, are the wealth of a country, and become the

prey of the plunderer. In an agricultural country like this, all that is lost is replaced, at least to the eye of the traveller, in a season; the crops in one season, the houses and the cattle in two or three. The moral and social evils of modern warfare are greater than the economical. A spirit of dissatisfaction with things as they are, a vague desire of change in all existing institutions, without any clear conception of any better, a craving for excitement, for tumult and revolution, for the sake of the excitement, not for the attainment of any reasonable object, have been engendered, and propagated in Germany, by this three years' war of the Frankfort Parliament against Denmark.

It is very possible that the object of this unprincipled war may be attained. The German Powers may, by negotiating and threatening, wrest from Denmark her guaranteed rights over Sleswick, and the insurgent interest may gain in the cabinet what it lost in the field; but this is a suicidal policy for the sovereign powers of Germany. The enemy, the internal enemy those powers dread, and are endeavouring, in every way, to put down, is that very insurgent interest to which they are giving a victory here over the rights of an old hereditary monarchy. The influence of the educational power, which in 1848 shook Germany to its roots, is so far from being extinct, that the very object for which that power called out the youth of Germany into the field, is being carried out as fully as the most anti-monarchical members of the Frankfort Parliament could desire, by the high functionaries entrusted with the foreign policy of Austria; and the duchy of Sleswick will, in spite of the guarantee of France

and England, acquiesced in by Germany for a hundred and twenty years, be annexed to Holstein as part of the German empire, the British cabinet, chloroformed by the same German influence, looking on, forgetful of the national honour and guarantee.

A day may come when the government of the United States of America will take a seat and voice in the family of civilised nations, and justify an interference in the affairs of Hungary, Italy, or Poland, by the example of Austrian and Prussian interference in the Danish territory of Sleswick. There is an acute and powerful antagonist to the autocratic principle of government, and to monarchical misrule, on the other side of the Atlantic, and which may have now, by the facility of communication, an effective influence in European affairs. New York is nearer, in point of time, and transport of military means, to Trieste or Naples, than Vienna is to Copenhagen. It is to America that the smaller constitutional powers in Europe, Sardinia, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, will have to look for an intervention in behalf of civil, political, and religious freedom, and constitutional government, if the British cabinet, as in the case of the Duchy of Sleswick, becomes the mere tool of a German influence. It is the characteristic feature of an imbecile administration of the affairs of a nation, as of a family, that it insists where it ought to negotiate, and negotiates where it ought to insist. This has been eminently conspicuous in sending a fleet to enforce a doubtful claim of an individual upon the government of Greece, and negotiating for three years with a German power which was invading Sleswick, and openly proclaiming the annexation of that province to Germany, without sending ship, or

man, or making any demonstration whatsoever, to enforce the solemn guarantee given to Denmark by England, France, and Russia, in the treaty of 1727, of the possession of the Duchy of Sleswick as an integral part of the Danish dominions, and to fulfil the positive obligation of England by that treaty, to defend the duchy of Sleswick, and the rights of the Danish crown to it, from all invasion. France was incapable, from internal revolution, during those three years of war, and invasion, in Sleswick, of making any demonstration in support of her guarantee, but Russia did. Russia sent a squadron to this fiord, and to the bay of Kiel, to show her readiness to vindicate her guarantee and national honour, by maintaining this treaty of 1727, and the retreat of the Prussian army from Jutland, and Sleswick, and the separate peace of Prussia with Denmark, were, no doubt, the fruits of this demonstration of Russia. And what did England do during the three years of the invasion by Prussia, and by the Frankfort Parliament, of a province which England was bound by treaty to defend, by sea and by land, in the terms of the treaty, from all invasion? Nothing but negotiate, and procrastinate, and exchange civilities with the Prince of Prussia, and a brood of petty Hohenzollern princes, until Denmark, by a desperate effort, rid herself of the invaders without the aid of her faithless ally. It is to the future political influence of the United States in European affairs, that the enlightened, the liberal, and the constitutional states in Europe must look for a restraint upon autocratic misrule and aggression. America will take the position which England has abdicated. If Elihu Burritt, instead of going to Holstein to preach peace in the camp

of a greedy autocrat, and of an army of unprincipled adventurers, who only laughed at him, had gone home, and preached to the American president, cabinet, and people, the duty of notifying at Berlin and Frankfort, that America would not permit an aggressive war against Denmark, would blockade the Elbe and Weser, and send a squadron into the Baltic, if hostilities against a friendly power were persisted in, he would have saved three years of bloodshed in Sleswick, and of idle prattle in Exeter Hall, would have attained the great object of a reference to arbitration, instead of the sword, of a dispute between nations, and would have placed his country in the position which England has abandoned.

CHAP. VIII.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLMASTERS — IN DENMARK — IN SCOTLAND. — SUPERIOR EDUCATION. — NORMAL SCHOOLS. — NATIONAL EDUCATION — IN DENMARK — IN GERMANY. — PAROCHIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM FAULTY. — FREEDOM OF EDUCATION. — FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. — FREE TRADE IN ALL THINGS TRUE SOCIAL POLICY. — FUNCTIONARISM IN DENMARK. — SANITARY REGULATIONS. — FALSE PRINCIPLE OF BOARDS OF HEALTH. — RETURNS OF MORTALITY IN LONDON DECEPTIVE. — INCREASE OF UNNECESSARY FUNCTIONARIES. — DUCHY OF SLESWICK UNDER MARTIAL LAW.—CHARACTER OF THE DANISH SOLDIERY — OF THEIR UNDER-OFFICERS — OF THE DANISH OFFICERS. — OPINIONS ON THE NEEDLE MUSKET, OR MINÉ RIFLE, FOR ACTUAL SERVICE. — VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY.

In this country, as in Scotland, every parish has its established schoolmaster, as well as its established minister, but it appears to me that the class of parochial schoolmasters here stands in a much higher position than in Scotland. They are better paid, their houses, glebes, and stipends are better, relatively to the ordinary houses and incomes of the middle class in country places, and they are men of much higher education than their Scotch brethren. The order of schoolmasters here is a minor order of clergy. Young men are educated for the school as they are for the church with us, and although the provision in the scholastic profession may be less, it is comfortable, and more easily obtained than a church living. In order to be allowed to study at the normal academy for the formation of schoolmasters, which for Denmark is in the island of Fyen, Holstein having a similar institute at Kiel, the young man undergoes a very strict examination in all branches of elementary

learning—as strict as if, instead of entering the normal school to be taught the science of teaching, and to be qualified for the profession of schoolmaster, he was entering the university to study law, or theology. He studies two years at the normal academy, living at his own expense, and although the expense is small compared to that of an attendance at the university of Copenhagen for a degree, and qualification for the church, it will cost the student two hundred dollars. He has to pass a very strict examination, at the end of two years, to obtain his certificate, or degree qualifying him to become a candidate for a school charge. To take his *examen*, as it is termed, with credit, is the foundation of his future professional success. When a vacancy occurs in any parish school, the educational department of government advertises it in the public papers, and appoints a day for candidates to send in their applications, and certificates, and to appear, and undergo an examination by the Probst (dean), and clergy of the district. This examination, and the previous examination on leaving the normal Institute, appear to be on much higher branches of learning than we, in Scotland, consider necessary to qualify a teacher to impart the arts of reading, and writing, the grammar, catechism, arithmetic, and other educational elements, to the children of a country parish. I dined one day at Flekkabye Kro, (Kro is a roadside inn) with a very well educated, intelligent, young man, the schoolmaster of a neighbouring parish, who had been to the town of Sleswick, to take his examen as a candidate for a better school charge in the district of Angeln. His examination, he told me, by the Probst, and

clergy, had lasted five hours, and besides Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Mathematics, and the ordinary branches of knowledge, embraced the history of Christian doctrines from the Pelagian controversy to the present times, and took a wide range over omne scibile in ancient and modern learning, including, also, his power, and proficiency, in chaunting the responses, and playing the organ in the cathedral in which the examination of the candidates was held. The office of schoolmaster is generally joined to that of organist, sexton, and parish clerk. I asked what kind of school it was in Angeln he expected to obtain, and what he would have to teach? It was simply a day school for teaching children the alphabet, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, the catechism, and such elementary knowledge. Religious instruction, preparatory to the rite of confirmation, is given by the parish clergyman to each young person, the schoolmaster being responsible to him that the young people come up, at the proper age, with sufficient knowledge to receive his instruction, and he being responsible to the Probst, that those he has presented for confirmation are sufficiently instructed in Christian doctrine, in which the Probst examines them individually, and with much care. The learned languages, beyond the first rudiments, are usually taught to those who are to study for any of the learned professions, at the Gymnasia, or high schools established for that purpose in each district, and of which the examen, and the certificates accompanying it, are of more weight at the university than those of a parish school, although the latter are not excluded. The student at the university is examined before he is allowed to enter

as a student, but if he has the necessary proficiency in elementary knowledge, where he acquired it is not considered. This severe, and apparently unnecessary examination for a country school, is intended, no doubt, and it has the effect, to raise the character, and position of the order of schoolmasters as a highly educated class, and perhaps also, to restrict, and keep down, the number of candidates. For the same reasons, the two years' attendance at the normal academy for schoolmasters, is made rather expensive, and costs the candidate about two hundred dollars. He has to pay, also, rather heavy fees for each examen. This schoolmaster had paid twenty-six dollars for an examination which, if other candidates better qualified appeared, might fail. Denmark was the first country in Europe which established normal schools, not merely for teaching schoolmasters practically the art of teaching, but for giving them instruction in the branches of knowledge they ought to be qualified to teach, and for raising their condition by a liberal provision, and their character, and social position, as a highly educated class. The first normal school in Denmark dates, I believe, from about the year 1747—a century, almost, before the first establishment of the kind in this country. The Danish Government had the wisdom, or the good fortune, to keep this institution of schools, and schoolmasters, for the people, distinct from the university, in Denmark Proper, and in Sleswick, where Danish is the language of the people. In Holstein, and the German-speaking portion of Sleswick, the schoolmasters received their education, qualifications, and took their examinations, and certificates at Kiel. This separation of

the normal academy, and the corps of schoolmasters, from the influence, direct or indirect, of the university, has been of great importance. The department of government for educational affairs appoints to any vacant school-charge, upon the protocol, and certificates of the examinators. In Denmark these are the established clergy of the district, and there being, hitherto, few or no dissenters from the Lutheran church, owing to the rite of confirmation, and the personal instruction given by the clergy, preparatory to the civil as well as religious importance attached to that rite, the examination for schools being in the hands of the established clergy is not felt to be a grievance. The few dissenters in Denmark are Mennonites, or Herrnhuters, living together, in groups, as at Frederickstadt, and not scattered through the population and in great numbers, as dissenters of various sects are with us. The patronage of the church is not, as in many countries of the Continent, entirely in the hands of the Crown, or connected with the recommendation of the university. By the strange mixture of democratic institutions and practice with autocratic theory and rule every where met with in Denmark, the gift of the living is, in many parishes, in the hands of the people, in many, in the hands of private patrons, as in England, and Scotland, and where the Crown appoints, it is usually out of a list of three presented by the clergy and the parishioners. The clergy as a body, are thus very much more independent of the university, or of the State, than in Germany. It is evident that the examinators, the clergy, are the real patrons of the school-charges, and if they are not independent of the State, and of

the influence of the universities on the State, and on themselves, they may so manage their examinations of the young men as to exclude candidates who are imbued with different political or philosophical sentiments, from those which they themselves have imbibed at the university from the professors, and have it in their power to recommend none but partisans of the predominant theory, or vision, whether it be in metaphysics, religion, literature, or politics. The theory of the "new Germany" was propagated through this machinery, and, through it, socialism, and communism have been widely diffused. It is the link connecting the whole education of the people with the juntas of professors in the German universities who have been tacitly working in unison for a common object. They have quietly taken the reins of national education out of the hands of the Continental governments, which attempted to make it a monopoly for the support of their own monarchical principle and power. In France, it has been officially stated that there are none to replace schoolmasters dismissed for propagating socialist doctrines, but candidates imbued with the same socialist sentiments. In Sleswick, the Danish Government has found it necessary to dismiss summarily, both the German university-bred clergy and the schoolmasters of their appointment. They were sparks in the midst of combustible material which they stood ready to kindle at the will of the leaders of their party: and from their position and influence, were dangerous to the Danish Government. Free trade in education, as it is with us in England and Scotland, the freedom for every man to open a school who pleases, and for every man to send his children

to a school or not, as he pleases, works better for the stability and power of a government than the monopoly system of educational means established on the Continent under the pretext of extending national education by suitably qualified masters, and by a government machinery in the hands of a department of the state. Where education is free, the folly, or fanaticism, of a sect, either in politics, philosophy, or religion, can never become universal, or predominant as public opinion. Men have gathered their opinions, and their intellectual power to form opinions, from different sources. One enthusiasm is neutralised by another enthusiasm; opposite views are taken by masses of the population deriving their education and opinions from different unconnected teachers; even ignorance and prejudice have their uses as dead weights on the flight of the philosophic projector of sudden revolutions in society; and common sense, or that just perception of the right, the suitable, the useful, which is common to the uneducated and the educated mind, finds standing room and a hearing amidst the speculations and proposals of the philosophers. A general influence over all educated men leading the public mind to adopt schemes manifestly impracticable, or inconsistent with the public good—and such has been the result of the educational system of the Continent—can never be acquired by any body of educational men, clergy, professors, authors, teachers, and exercised against the state, as it has been in Germany, in countries in which education is free, and the great educational means, the press, is left to itself. It is compression that gives substance and weight to the press, and converts it into a dangerous weapon. In England

the free press is innocuous; in Germany and France, the restricted, squeezed-up press makes the governments that attempt to compress it tremble for its rebound. A national education by a licensed body of teachers alone privileged, or by peculiar class-advantages conferred by the state, exclusively preferred to hold schools, and whose own education makes them merely organs for diffusing the political opinions and schemes of a higher and more ambitious body of the same educational hierarchy, may lead to social evils as great as ignorance itself—to superstition and fanaticism, if the teachers are licensed by the clergy; and to extravagant speculations and wild enthusiasm for their realisation, if the teachers are formed, examined, and licensed at the universities and schools under the professors and philosophers who led the educated public mind in Germany in 1848.

The schoolmaster here is paid by a tax on all the inhabitants of the parish, by offerings at Easter, and on other church festivals, to which the clergyman and sexton are entitled; and the schoolmaster generally holds the latter office, which seems to be of more importance and consideration than in the Church of England; and he has a good house, and a glebe, which the parishioners are bound to plough and reap for him. He is not eligible to a church, but many who have taken a theological examen, and are qualified thereby for the Church, take a schoolmaster's examen, and renounce the Church for the school-house, as a profession in which a settlement is more easily obtained; and in some situations the value is not much less than that of an ordinary clerical charge. A school charge may be worth from 40*l.* to 100*l.* a year, or more, besides a house and glebe.

In Scotland, and in Denmark, the fixed parish schools, with a school-house, schoolmaster's residence, garden, and glebe, and, in Denmark, with a liberal provision, and well-educated teachers, are, no doubt, highly useful, and diffuse the benefits of education among the labouring class within a certain small circle around them; but they fail in both countries in diffusing education so widely and generally among the working population as people suppose and expect; and the English National Schools established on the same plan will fail from the same cause. The teaching is anchored fast to one spot, in a country parish, by the fixed school-house, schoolmaster's residence, garden, and glebe. The children within two or even three miles of this spot, and living on the side of the high road, may attend these fixed parish schools, but those living at the distance of four, five, or six miles, cannot attend them, especially in winter, which is the very season when country boys have most leisure to attend a school. There are few country parishes in Scotland or Denmark, and not many probably in England, so small that one-third of the children of an age to be educated can go daily for education in the winter half year to the parish school. To build and endow parish schools to meet the want of education in a whole country is evidently impracticable. A school at every third milestone would not be sufficient. A school in the centre of every circle of a three miles radius, that could be drawn over the inhabited land, would be required. But the schoolmasters might be brought to the scholars, where the scholars cannot possibly be brought to the schoolmasters. The mistake in Scotland and in Denmark is not in building and endowing a school-house and schoolmaster's

residence in every parish or rural district, but in filling those schoolmasterships with young men very suitably educated, no doubt, for their situations, who marry, and sit down for life, like a new order of clergy, provided for before they have done anything for the diffusion of education deserving this life-provision bestowed at the outset, instead of at the end of their professional career. They obtain, before they begin to teach, what ought to be the reward of a long course of educational activity as teachers. The great political movements in Germany and France, in 1848, prove that an educational corps of raw, inexperienced young men, able teachers, perhaps, but still only half-educated, and yet wholly provided for, and thickly scattered over the face of the country, and established in an independent position in their localities, have great influence, and power for agitation and political excitement in their hands, from being in immediate and daily contact with the unenlightened mass of the social body; are bound together, as a class, to agitate and excite in one direction; and are without the discretion, knowledge of the world, and the experience to use wisely and prudently the power and influence they wield. In a reasonable and practicable scheme of national education, these fixed parish schools and school endowments, and which, in Scotland, should be endowed much more liberally than they are at present, ought to be the reward of qualified and examined schoolmasters, who have been itinerating as teachers for a certain number of years among the people, have been lodging and keeping schools in various localities too distant for attendance upon any parish school, and have been bringing the schoolmaster to the scholars in situations where it

would be impossible to bring the scholars to the schoolmaster. In Scotland, and also in Denmark, much of the best education the boys and lads of the working classes in the country receive is from itinerating teachers, young students, generally, who, in the vacations of the university, lodge and teach in the farmer's family, and keep temporary schools for the young people and children in the neighbourhood. The old parochial schoolmasters in Scotland may be replaced in time by young men of higher qualifications, bred in normal schools; and the school endowments may, by the aid of government, be made more worthy of the acceptance of abler and better educated men; but still the system is radically bad, by which a young man receives the reward of labour and success in his profession, whatever it may be, before he has earned it, or even tried it. In the clerical profession in Scotland it is thought necessary that the young minister, even of the Established Church, should itinerate, should go about preaching in different churches, both to acquire experience and try his powers, before he can expect to be appointed to a parochial charge. It seems not unreasonable that the parish schoolmaster should also be a tried and approved teacher, to whom the school-house, schoolmaster's dwelling, garden, glebe, and salary, are partly a reward, and final settlement, for past services, and a promotion from a lower to a higher step in his profession. It seems not unreasonable, also, with the examples of Germany and France before our eyes, that a class of men, standing between the ignorant and the educated, wielding a vast and as yet undeveloped social and political power over the masses, and in a position to form the public mind in youth

to support their own views and speculations, however extravagant, in religion, morals, politics, and all our social economy and interests, should not be, as in Germany or France, an exclusive, incorporated body, examined, qualified, recommended, and appointed to office by a board or department of the state, or of the Church, or of a clique of professors. The interference of government with the freedom of education in Germany and France has not produced such fruits in the present generation as to justify our government in adopting a similar educational system, and throwing a new element into our social body, an educational class of men bound together either by exclusive privilege or exclusive encouragement and aid from the state, and ready to act together in times of political excitement with the zeal and blindness of a professional body. We have the established clergy, the landlords, the capitalists, and many other interests and classes in our social body, but an educational class and class-interest, thrown in, as in Germany, with the same power of training the public mind from infancy in the same opinions and speculations, and with the same tendencies in social polity, would, as in Germany and France, annihilate the other interests, and rear up generations fit only for turbulence and agitation. The schoolmaster's rod would, like Aaron's, swallow all the others in the social bundle, and, as in Germany and France, become the master-power. Mysticism, rationalism, socialism, communism, would, as in Germany and France, be its first buds. Is education, then, a bad thing in society, a dangerous evil to be put down or avoided by a wise government? By no means. But government interference with education is a bad thing. The creation

of an educational corps or incorporation of teachers is a bad thing, because it creates an unseen but tremendous social power and influence, over which not only governments have no control, but religion, truth, morality, prudence, and common sense have none. It it the duty and wisdom of a government to remove all obstacles of a material kind, such as taxes on knowledge, to the natural progress of a people in education, but not to stimulate that progress to a more rapid pace than society requires, and to leave education and the choice of teachers to the people themselves. Freedom of education, freedom from encouragement as well as from restriction by the state, or the Church, or any educational body or department, will bring out the schoolmaster just on the same principle as it brings out the artizan, the tailor, or the shipwright, in proportion to the natural demand for his kind of work; and bounties or privileges to teachers, as a peculiar incorporation or class, are useless, as well as dangerous, and are opposed to those very principles of free trade, or free social action, which the most zealous advocates for a national education under a government department maintain.

All branches of medical science are protected and practised under a monopoly in Denmark. The apothecary, the surgeon, the midwife, the veterinary surgeon, enjoy a monopoly within their districts, into which none can intrude; and are under the superintendence of the local medical functionary, appointed and paid by government, or by fees levied by authority of government; and he reports to a government department the sanitary condition of the districts he presides over. He vaccinates all the children at

regular half-yearly visitations, and receives a fee of about three-pence for each, and may fine the parents who neglect to present their children, and his fee, in due time. Our sanitary-condition politicians may envy Denmark such a complete medical arrangement for the health of the people. But all this well intended system of superintendence and interference with the free agency of the people in their family affairs, seems not to diminish the ordinary rate of mortality, and it certainly tends to diminish what is quite as needful as bodily health in a community, the independent action, good sense, reflection, and powers and habits of self-guidance of those subject to it. They are like the children of over-fond parents, — very well cared for, very well off, but not brought up to take care of themselves, not accustomed to act for themselves, and very helpless.

In our own sanitary commissions, and boards of health, and in the statements and reasonings on which they are founded, there is a good deal of statistical quackery and delusion. It is stated, for example, every week or month, that the number of deaths in proportion to the population of London is considerably less, in general, than in the corresponding week, or month, of preceding years, and that, comparing the deaths of a year now and of a year a quarter of a century ago, the mortality in London has been diminished in something like the proportion of from 1 death in every 25 or 30 of the population, to one in every 45 or 50. Credit is taken to themselves by our sanitary commissioners and boards of health, for having, by their regulations and suggestions, rendered London one of the most healthy cities in Europe, and of having prolonged human life in

this great and crowded metropolis of the human race, almost to the proportion of death to life in the most healthy country districts. Now, the statements are true, but the conclusions drawn from them are false. This is the besetting sin of almost all statistical speculations. It is true, or at least we have no reason to doubt the statistical fact, that 1 in 25 represents the mortality in London a quarter of a century ago, and 1 in 45 represents it now; but it is jumping to a false, or at least an unexamined and unauthorised conclusion, to assume that this fact denotes a diminished mortality. It only denotes a superior economical condition of the great mass of the population, and the superior facilities given within these five-and-twenty years, by railways, cheap fares, and good roads in all directions out of London, to the aged, the children, the infirm, the sick, the dying of the London population, to go into the country to regain health, or to die while giving themselves the chance of benefit from country air. It is not the wealthy class only who repair to country quarters, or to watering-places, to recruit their failing health. Search the villages forty miles round London, and you find the "rooms to let" occupied by invalids from the great city who, five-and-twenty years ago, would have died in their domiciles in London, and would have been numbered among the dead within the bills of mortality, but are now only numbered among the living there. They have gone elsewhere, for a few weeks, to die. Inquire of the poorest working man, the common labourer, the seaman, the mechanic, the ordinary handicraftsman, what he will do, or proposes to do, if he falls into bad health and can no longer work. If he be a Londoner born, he

will tell you he intends to try what the country air will do for him; if not a Londoner, he will try what his native air will do for him, and will go to his friends in the country. Economy, as well as the hope of being restored to health, takes a large proportion of those who are sinking in health, and can no longer work and earn a living in London, to the country to recover or to die; and their numbers flourish on the opposite page of the sanitary returns, as part of the living population of London, while their deaths do not appear in them. What else but the influx of the infirm, the sick, the dying from London has raised Gravesend, Margate, Brighton, and a hundred other places, of cheap and ready access from London, to the rank of towns and cities? Brighton, for example, without commerce or manufactures, has risen, within this half century, from an inconsiderable town to a city of sixty thousand inhabitants, merely by being the receptacle of the children, the aged, the infirm and sickly of the London population, first of the higher classes, and latterly of the middle, and even of the lower classes, who come there, in the last stages of life, to find health or a grave. Brighton is stated, in some of the late sanitary returns, as unhealthy compared to London, because the proportion of deaths is greater; but in reality these are London deaths, and properly should be so stated, because the parties are taken credit for, and numbered, among the living population of London, where they are domiciled. This emigration of the sickly, weak, and dying, from London, owing to the cheap and multiplied access by railways to the country, is alone sufficient to account for the apparently diminished mortality of

London. It is not that fewer people die out of a thousand or a hundred thousand of the population now than five-and-twenty years ago, which is the conclusion the sanitary commissioners jump to in glorification of their own exertions, but that fewer stop in town to die, and be numbered in the registrar's returns of deaths, although they stand numbered among his living population. In the walled towns of the Continent, where no person can go out or in for a few weeks without a passport, and where the country, as around Paris, Berlin, and almost all the large continental cities, offers no comfort, accommodation, or inducement to the sickly or infirm to repair to it, the proportion of deaths to the population is not diminished by their sanitary regulations, boards of health, and medical functionarism. It is in reality an interference of government in matters beyond the legitimate scope of government in a free country, and is a mere nest for breeding unnecessary places and placemen. If it be the duty of a government to take care of the bodily health of the people, by establishing a board of health, with powers to issue sanitary regulations, which all must obey, it is difficult to see why it is not still more the duty of a government to take care of the spiritual health of the people, of their religion, and to appoint a board of religion, an established church, with powers to issue religious regulations, which all must obey, and admitting no dissent or nonconformity. It must, likewise, be the duty of a government to take care of the educational health of the people, to establish an educational board, a class of teachers licensed by the board and exclusively entitled to teach the people, and a censorship of the press,—for the press is unques-

tionably a great educational means, and, as such, must, in just reasoning, come under the jurisdiction of an educational board or minister of state for the education of the people. All the interference of the autocratic governments of the Continent, of Prussia or Austria, with the free agency of men, with religion, with the family rights and duties of individuals, with freedom of education, freedom of opinion, freedom of the press, flows naturally and logically from the principle upon which boards of health, boards of education, and such establishments are being gradually introduced into our social polity. They are well-meant humane attempts to do for the people, by the hand of the general government, what the people will do for themselves, by associations in their own localities, when the want is really felt. We see in Germany and France the results of government education, of forcing upon the youth of a country an education not suited to their social position, of taking it out of the hands and duties of the parents to educate their children according to their present means and reasonable future prospects individually, and throwing the formation of the mind and character of the youth into the hands of a body of educational functionaries full of ambition, conceit, and false views, and bound together by common professional interests to stir up the youth against every government of which their professional leaders are not the chiefs. Our government has not gone so far as the continental states in this career of establishing boards and functionaries for a useless, and often pernicious, interference in social action, and has not yet raised up a functionary body able to coerce the government for its own purposes, or to influence

public opinion by its power over the education of the people; we have not yet fallen into functionary government; but the creation of unnecessary boards and regulations for social affairs, which a free people are able to manage for themselves, and the interference of government, on the plea of humanity, with matters such as health, education, religion, which are beyond the proper objects of the general government of a country, are steps towards it.

Allowing that the statements and conclusions of our sanitary commissions and boards of health are correct to the utmost extent, and that it is not merely a change of localities to which the sickly, the infirm, and the dying, of the London population have retired, and in which they die beyond the limits of the registrar's account of deaths, but a real conquest over mortality that the sanitary bulletins of the public health present to us; still the question in social polity remains unsolved,—is this a legitimate object of legislation? Death is an element as necessary as life for producing that well-being of society which government is instituted to promote and protect. If a government could by sanitary regulations and boards of health prolong the existence of the infirm, the aged, the sickly, the dying, for five, ten, or twenty years (and the Sanitary Reports attempt to prove that this has been done in London), or even if it could make them live for ever, it would ruin the civilisation and well-being of the people under its power, and would throw society back into the state of barbarism in which the aged, the infants, the feeble, and all who could not do for themselves, must, of necessity, be deserted, exposed, starved, or butchered. The non-effective members of every

social body are, by a wise and beneficent Providence, kept in that ratio to the effective members, that all the kindliest feelings and sympathies of our nature are called forth and exercised in their behalf; but their numbers are not allowed to overburden the effective portion of that social body. It is, no doubt, a great boon to the individual, however infirm and helpless, to have his life prolonged by medical skill and sanitary regulation; but it is no boon to society, and no legitimate object for a government to legislate for, that a large proportion of its non-effective members should live for years without being able to engage in the duties of life. Over-population, that is, a population increasing more rapidly than the means of subsistence, was a few years ago, according to the quackery of political economists, the great social evil impending, or already existing, in modern times. What shall we say of the consistency of the same sect of social philosophers, who boast that they add, by sanitary regulations and boards of health, to the mass of a population (already, by their own theory, too great), twenty or twenty-five per cent. of the sickly, infirm, dying, and non-effective? Nature in truth holds the scales, and regulates in society the proportions of effective and non-effective members of it most suitable for its well-being; and it is rather doubtful if political economy and humanity, the privy council and the board of health, could adjust the balance and manage the business better. Death goes his rounds with steady pace, among nations as among families, cutting down the "too many" for the means of subsistence, for the wants of the social body, or for the benefit of themselves or others. Death is as necessary as life for the well-being of society.

In the country here the body of public functionaries is increased by the government management of woods and forests; as not only those belonging to the crown, but those which are private property, are under the superintendence of officers appointed by government to each district. The owner cannot cut down or plant up, without survey, leave, and superintendence of the officers. The professions or trades also of land surveyor, of veterinary surgeon, of auctioneer, and of wholesale or retail merchant can only be exercised by those who have taken an examen, and are duly licensed by some board, or incorporation, or guild, entitled to superintend their trade. They are in effect public functionaries living, if not by salary or fees, by monopoly-profits, all derived ultimately from the people, and as far as regards the benefit of the people, uselessly, as they are paid for doing what the people could do for themselves. This is the social state of the north of Germany, and is not peculiar to Holstein or Denmark.

This country of Sleswick is still under military law, I believe; but, as far as I can see, this means no more than that the troops are in cantonments, and quartered in such villages or farm-houses as best suit their military arrangements; but the quarters, food, and forage are regularly paid for, and at satisfactory rates. The men also, when not on duty, are allowed to assist their husbond, or master of the family on which they are quartered, in his work, and being all country lads used to farm-work, an *indquartering* of these Danish soldiers is not unwelcome even to verpachters zealously attached to the "Sleswig-Holstein" cause. They get labour at a season when

hay-making, peat-making, ditching, draining, and working their fallows, make labour very valuable and scarce. Such small circumstances interfere often between theory and reality, and make a social state tolerable which people at a distance think past endurance. In countries, also, less civilised, or in which education, religion, manners, have not extended humanising influences on the character of the soldiery, as part of the great social mass, the relations between the soldiery and a people under military law may be much less kindly than here, where the soldiery are not uneducated. Something of this difference appears in the unfriendly relations between the raw Austrian soldiers and the people of Hamburgh and Holstein. Here, but for seeing out-posts, patroles, and such duties of troops in the field going on, one would not discover that the country was not in its ordinary social state. People go from place to place unquestioned. I have never been asked for my passport. The Danish soldiers appear to suit the people here better than their volunteer liberators did, although engaged in the same cause. They complain here that their "Schleswig-Holstein" friends were of a very unaccommodating character, and were always craving more and better food, lodging, and attendance, than the peasants could give, and would not help at all at any-farm work. The carousing, visiting, gossiping, and never-ending singing, night and day, did not at all suit the quiet, sedate, routine life of the peasants of Holstein and Sleswick. The southern Germans are a lively, enthusiastic, life-enjoying people compared to the northern people of the same race. They are as different in temperament, character, and habits as the French and English. After the first burst of

enthusiasm was over, the men who filled the ranks of the free corps, ranting, jovial students, artists, and persons of higher station, and with higher and more troublesome wants and demands than the ordinary soldier, were by no means welcome inmates in the peasant's house. The Danish soldier is a quiet, hardworking man, who goes about the peasant's farmyard like one of his own farm servants, puts up with the same fare and lodging, looks after the cattle, feeds the pigs, and makes himself useful. He is a husbandman under arms, and in all his tastes and habits he is agricultural as well as military. An interesting anecdote is told of this mixture of character. At the siege of Frederickstadt, while thirty-two pieces of heavy artillery were pouring shot and shells incessantly into the little country town, which was deserted by the inhabitants and on fire on all sides, the great subject of conversation and sympathy among the Danish soldiers of the little garrison was not their own killed or wounded, but the cattle, the poor cattle left in the burning houses. One soldier was observed to steal across the street while it was swept by the enemy's fire, and was found by his officer coolly dealing out provender to the deserted and hungry cattle of his landlord. He could not withstand their bellowing for food.

The Danish service was notorious formerly for the barbarity of its discipline. The slightest error in observing the most absurd regulations in dress and drill incurred the most severe corporal punishment. The cane of the under-officer was incessantly at work on the shoulders of the wretched soldier. I remember, fifty years ago, seeing a lieutenant in a Jutland regiment drilling a squad of recruits, and

inflicting himself punishment with the cane on the back of one of them, while the under-officer carefully held the culprit's pigtail on one side, that it might not be deranged by the blows. It was not uncommon in those days for the men to sit up all night previous to a grand review, to tie their queues, powder their hair, and save it from being deranged by lying down, as the slightest derangement or want of uniformity in pigtails or sidelocks brought down severe punishment. Suicide was frequent, and officers as well as men were brutalised by the cruelties they had to witness, inflict, and suffer. The late king, Christian VIII., abolished entirely, and at once, the infliction of corporal punishment at the discretion of officers and under-officers. The minor military transgressions could only be punished by arrest, extra duty, and such punishments as are now adopted in our army; flogging and caning were abolished. The officers of the old school of military discipline and dress, the martinets of the parade-ground, predicted the entire ruin of their well-drilled, well-cudgelled little army, by these innovations. The men were no longer enlisted for life. They served only three years, after which those who wished to become under-officers served two years in a military school, and, three years afterwards, as under-officers; and eight years concluded their term of military service, unless they chose to re-engage. The clothing, dress, drill, were simplified; and the Danish soldier is now scarcely distinguishable from the Prussian or other German soldier of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army. But the *morale* of the two armies was very different. The "Schleswig-Holstein" ranks were filled partly with the peasantry of the two duchies, who were

deluded, or forced by conscription, to serve; and all the German writers on this war concur in declaring that these soldiers, who amounted to about one-half of the whole, were the pith and strength of the army. The rest were volunteers from all classes,—professors, students, artists, fiddlers, poets, and the scum of the lower populations of the south of Germany, journeymen out of work, candidates for office, idlers, — all perhaps tolerably drilled in the landwehr service of Prussia and other states, or at school, to march, and handle the musket, but unaccustomed to hardship, cold, wet, bodily fatigue, and want of food and rest. They would fight and gain battles, if modern warfare allowed of a Valhalla life to the warrior—a comfortable night's rest, and a cup of coffee and a pipe in the morning, fighting like heroes all the forenoon, and a warm meal, punch, tobacco, toasts, and songs, round a blazing bivouac fire, to conclude the day's work. For the stern reality of a soldier's life in the field, such Valhalla comrades are too refined, too soft and tender in health, too weak in body. With their wants, and comforts, and requirements, and their tendency, as educated men, to criticise every act of their superiors, to murmur at their merits not being known and their opinions not being asked, two or three of such men in each company would be sufficient to demoralise an army. The insurgent army also wanted a precise, intelligible object to fight for. The "Germania," the "New Germany," the every man's "Vaterland of Teutonic race and tongue," were non-existences, mere visions, in the mind of the Platt Deutsch common man; and all the enthusiasm, fine phrases, and songs about this object were to the peasantry, who were the strength of the

army, what Don Quixote's rhapsodies about his Dulcinea were to plain Sancho—the madness of the master. The Danish army was composed of husbandmen accustomed to hard work, and to the great exertions in hard work which their climate imposes on the husbandman to get his seed into the ground in due season. Wet, and cold, and night-work, hardship and labour, are familiar to them, and the Jutlanders, in particular, are men of greater physical powers, and more roughly bred and fed, and hardier than the peasantry of Holstein, or of the south of Sleswick. The Danish people, also, from the highest to the lowest, may be said to live in their antecedents, to be fed by and formed upon their past history. Antiquarian research has, from the first dawn of literature in Denmark, been the favourite occupation of the learned and educated; and where politics, religion, and philosophy were, until lately, interdicted subjects, and even science, as in the case of Tycho Brahe, might be persecuted, the public mind had nothing but the fictions of the drama or the realities of the pagan, and the middle age history of the country, to expatiate in. The learned antiquaries have collected, studied, and classed the relics of their ancestors; but the peasantry have seized on and have retained their poetry and spirit. The Danish soldiery and the classes from which they are drawn are, at this day, men of the same character as the peasantry of the feudal ages. They have the same implicit confidence in and personal attachment to their leaders. Their captains, lieutenants, and under-officers are to them what the baron, his standard-bearers, squires, and pages were to their forefathers. This relation is preserved in the army from the men

and officers growing up together in the same regiment, and becoming known to each other. Officers are rarely shifted from the regiment in which they have begun their service, and regiments are rarely removed, in time of peace, from the province in which they have been first raised or quartered. The constitution, or rather want of constitution in Denmark, and the sole, autocratic power vested in the sovereign in 1660, has certainly imbued the people with the most single-hearted, unconditional loyalty, or love of king and country. The struggle, it is to be remembered, had for ages been between the king and people on one side, and the clergy, nobility, and pretenders to the throne, or to portions of the territories, supported by the Hanse towns, on the other side. The kings were but party leaders of the popular side, and enjoyed the kind of personal attachment of their adherents which kings in distress receive. The settlement, by the act of the Diet of 1660, of autocratic power in the sovereigns of Denmark, was for the purpose of relieving the people from the oppressions of the clergy and great nobility. It united the king and people. Every act of government since for the benefit of the people has been received as emanating from the king himself, and has kept alive a spirit of loyalty not to be found in the present age in any other continental kingdom. In Holland, Belgium, Prussia, Hanover, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, or in France, it is but a *façon de parler* to speak of loyalty as an existing influential feeling or spirit among the people. It is as unknown in modern society on the Continent as the feeling or spirit of the crusaders of the eleventh century. Here only it has been kept alive. The remote situation of Denmark, the want of intercourse

with other continental people, by trade or manufactures, her independence of other countries for her supplies of all the necessaries or luxuries she uses, her distinct literature, language, and intellectual existence as a nation, isolate the Danish people from the rest of Europe, and from the influence of other people on their habits, and ways of living and thinking. They retain much of the manners and ideas of the middle ages, and among the soldiery this middle age character is remarkably strong. The Danish soldier, like the peasant in the days of chivalry, thinks the real battle is but beginning when, in most modern armies, it is considered ending — when the combatants come hand to hand in the charge of bayonets. The firing is considered a mere preliminary, however bloody; and at Idstadt, and again at the siege of Frederickstadt, the Danish troops slackened, and even ceased their fire altogether, on command — a manœuvre in face of the enemy, and in the heat of an engagement, which few troops of the most highly disciplined armies would have the coolness to practise, or their commanders the confidence in their men to venture upon. But the implicit confidence of the Danish soldiery in their leaders, and of the leaders in their men, and their military intelligence and submission to orders, seem innate. Their ideas of warfare are formed on the tales and ballads of the times of chivalry, when personal combats decided battles; and no country is so rich in popular songs and traditionary stories, from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Waldemar Seier (the Victorious), his good queen Dagmal, the wars in the unhappy times of his sons, and of Eric of Pomerania and his gallant queen Philippa, the

sister of our Henry V., and the exploits of the knight Ebbesen, and his battles against the Holstein Count Gert, — are household literature among the Danish peasantry, and, as far as literature can do so, have formed the character of the people. The Danish soldiers are men of the fifteenth century led by officers of the nineteenth.

The under-officers appear to stand on a higher footing in the Danish service than the non-commissioned in ours. They are appointed in the same way, by the recommendation of the captain of the company, and are selected from the soldiers of three years' service. On their appointment they are sent for two years to the military academy, where they are instructed in various branches of knowledge connected with military duty, which they could not be taught so well with their regiments. Outpost duty, patrole-duty, and all that depends upon the intelligence and eye of the under-officer, was done in a more satisfactory manner in the Danish than in the insurgent army. The latter was under great disadvantages in the field from the want of experienced or instructed under-officers and officers who understood and had the confidence of the men. The defeat of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army is attributed to this want by the German officers who have written on the war. The Danish non-commissioned officers have the moral weight of a better-educated class, as well as that of their military rank, among the men. I have made the acquaintance of many officers of the Danish army who are on service on this frontier. They are highly-educated, gentlemanly men, superior in tastes and acquirements to the majority of our officers, their education being very much superior.

They are all bred from a very early age at the military academy of Copenhagen, in which the languages and literature of other countries, as well as of their own, and all the mathematical and other sciences connected with the military profession, are very carefully taught, and they undergo very strict examinations before they pass as cadets. They then join a regiment as privates in the ranks, rise to be under-officers, in which rank they may remain for two or three years, and are appointed second lieutenants afterwards, and rise by seniority in regimental rank. It might be expected that the slow promotion by seniority would tend to fill the army with officers too old for their work, with subalterns of forty and captains of fifty years of age. The war probably has been too sharp, and the government too prudent, to allow the army to be burdened with officers too old for active service. Captains and subalterns, both in cavalry and infantry regiments, are, in general, as young men for their rank as officers in our service. The military officers are often provided for, after long and meritorious service, by offices in the customs or the forest department. The subaltern officer is not allowed to marry unless he can prove that, besides his pay, he and his proposed wife have an income of 600 dollars; and he must also insure his life to the extent that his widow may enjoy an annuity equivalent to his pay. The pay is small: about 400 dollars yearly is the pay of a lieutenant, or about 45*l.* sterling; but, on actual service, the officer has a field allowance, and living is extremely moderate. It is not merely the cheapness of provisions but the simpler habits of living that make one country less expensive than another. The officer in Denmark

maintains his station in society on his small pay, and is in manners, appearance, education, and all gentlemanly accomplishments and feelings, equal to the best of our own regimental officers, and very superior to the many ignorant, unformed youths who formerly joined our regiments without any preparatory education or examination. I made many inquiries among officers who had served on outpost duty during the war, on a subject which is at present attracting much attention, — the real value in the field of the German Sundnadel firelock, or needle-musket, with which the German, and especially the Prussian, light infantry, or Jäger corps, in the "Schleswig-Holstein" army, were provided. They all agreed in stating that they had heard of instances of men being hit at the distance, by estimation, of 1200 ells, or about half an English mile, but that these instances were very rare; that a man at that distance subtends too small an angle to allow of any effective aim, and if in motion, as the skirmisher on an outpost always is, no aim at all can be adjusted with any certainty on so small a moving object as a man at that distance. Within the ordinary range of the common musket, — and a brave light infantry man soon runs over the distance between their range and his, — the needle-musket man is under the disadvantage, that his piece requires more care and nicety in reloading, is more liable to derangement which makes it useless; and in the rough work of advancing and retreating singly through hedges, ditches, and broken ground, the common rough musket is the weapon in which the soldier has most confidence. It will go off without failing him after firing all day, but the needle-gun and rifle get furred and choked, and cannot be reloaded easily after a few

discharges. The conclusive fact that the musket of long range has not, as yet, been brought to any efficiency in ordinary warfare, is proved by the loss of men on the outpost service not having been greater on the Danish side than on the German, the first armed with the ordinary muskets with detonating locks, the other with the needle-guns. There was a great deal of outpost fighting, and occasionally great loss of men, on both sides; but the returns of killed and wounded do not show that the one side had a more efficient fire-arm than the other in those skirmishes. The observation of one officer who had served as a private during the first two years of the war, and had been much on outpost duty, struck me as true to nature, viz., that the soldier taught to confide in a long shot, and a fire-arm which must be carefully loaded and adjusted at a distance, will be as much disconcerted when an adversary advances within his range, as the soldier accustomed to a musket of ordinary range would be with the approach of an enemy to a much shorter distance; and that the true formation of the soldier, even for outpost duty, is to accustom him to confide in his charged bayonet, and to advance to that steadily and rapidly.

The Danes made use of long pieces, called Springals, as a kind of portable artillery, which were supported on legs, like the stand of a telescope, and were carried by the soldiers. The artillery of the Danish army is said to be excellent, and ball practice with artillery is even a favourite amusement, on summer evenings, with the citizens of Copenhagen. In the Danish dominions the inhabitants of the great towns are exempt from the conscription for the landwehr, or general military service, but they

furnish battalions of local militia, which do military duty in the town as part of the garrison, and which elect their own officers, up to captains inclusive, and are clothed and equipped at the expense of the corporations. They are a kind of volunteer force, but liable to serve, in the event of an invasion, like other troops, and then receive pay, subsistence, and quarters, according to their rank, like the officers and men of the regular army. The artillery of the city of Copenhagen was called out in the last war; and the "shoemaker's brigade," as it was called by the soldiers, from its captain being a respectable tradesman of that craft, an amateur artillerist, was as well served, and as effective in the field, during the three years of warfare, as any brigade of guns in the army. The field piece is perhaps the true weapon for a volunteer force in England to be trained to. It is the most suitable and analogous to the work and habits of a population of artisans, and manufacturers bred amidst combinations of machinery. It is that for which a merely agricultural population, like that of France or Germany, has the least aptitude, and our population the most, and it is the arm which decides battles and the fate of empires. It is also the safest for a government to train the masses to, who, as infantry, might be dangerous in times of tumult at home to their own fellow subjects.

CHAP. IX.

NATIONAL CHARACTER AND INDIVIDUAL CHARACTER. — INDIVIDUALITY OF CHARACTER THE RESULT OF A HIGHER SOCIAL STATE THAN NATIONALITY OF CHARACTER. — CLASS-CHARACTER IN THE DRAMATIC LITERATURE OF FRANCE AND GERMANY — IN MODERN PAINTING. — STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY ON THE CONTINENT ADVERSE TO INDIVIDUALITY OF CHARACTER. — FLEKKABY — PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION OF SLESWICK WHO SPEAK GERMAN. — EXAGGERATION OF THE GERMAN PRESS ON THIS SUBJECT. — THE COUNTRY DESCRIBED. — HUTTENBERGE. — GROSS WITTINSEE. — BISTENSEE. — BOULDER-STONES. — GRANITE NOT GNEISS. — WHERE THEY CAME FROM? — HOW THEY CAME? — DIFFICULTIES IN THE THEORY OF TRANSPORTATION BY GLACIERS.

CLIMATE has more influence on the character of a people, and on their social and political economy, than travellers usually allow. The direct influence of climate on the human animal may not be very important in our European latitudes. Men vigorous, brave, hardy, and strong in mind and body, are produced in our warmest as well as in our coldest countries, in Spain and Italy, as well as in Denmark or Sweden; and the differences of constitution, temperament, and mental and bodily development, are usually ascribed to original difference of race, rather than to difference of climate. The indirect influence of climate, however, is very much greater than its direct influence, and is too much overlooked by the traveller, political economist, and historian, in estimating the character, social state, institutions, and past transactions of a people. In a climate for instance in which there are but a few weeks in the year for accomplishing all agricultural and other out-door work, and frost in the northern latitudes, or extreme

heat and drought in the southern, impede almost equally all labour and industry, the people and their history in all ages will be found to exhibit a capability of the most vigorous and extraordinary exertion for short periods, and these followed by long intervals of repose, inactivity, or trifling occupation. The people are not capable in those climates of unremitting daily action or industry, in one direction, all the year round. It is in their character and constitution of mind to require an alternation of exertion and repose; and this character and constitution are formed and imposed by the indirect influences of climate. The Swedes and Danes, and the Spaniards and Portuguese, although different races of men, and with different temperaments and characters in all other respects, coincide very remarkably, both in their history as nations and in their private daily life as individuals, in showing the same tendency of character to act by fits and starts. Continuous action, for long periods, in the ordinary occupations of life, are interrupted by frost, snow, and short daylight in the northern, and by extreme heat, drought, and the baked state of the soil in the southern climes; and alternations of great exertions and great repose are in those countries forced by climate into the life and action of every man in his out-door business and industry, and become habitual and characteristic of nations. Some nations, the Irish, French, Scotch, for instance, have a very strongly marked national character impressed upon each individual, distinguishing him from the individual of every other country, yet have very little individuality of character among them, distinguishing one man from another by his own peculiar impress,

his own intellectual and moral idiosyncracy. The individuals of those nations, like soldiers in line, are not very distinguishable from each other individually, although in the mass, regimentally, or classwise, or nationwise, they are very clearly and peculiarly distinguishable. Other nations again, the English, American, Danish, Norwegian, and Dutch, for instance, along with a very strongly marked national character, have great individuality of character among them; and almost every individual, besides the national character common to him and all his countrymen, has an impress of his own, a character and formation of mind peculiar to himself, and distinguishing him, by strongly marked characteristics, from any other individual. A third group of nations, the Prussians, Austrians, Bavarians, for instance, and the subjects of all the smaller German states, have no strongly marked and distinguishing national chaters, and have very little individuality of character among them. Nationality of character seems mainly produced by identity or similarity of soil, climate, occupations, modes of subsistence, and other physical or material circumstances, and by mutual dependence, common interests, common religion, law, government, and language. It is the result of such influences working long and uniformly on the units composing the nation. Individuality of character among a people springs from a higher source. It is the result of a higher social state, of a more fully developed condition of intellectual and moral influences, of a greater variety of interests, and of a greater free agency in society; of men, in short, being, as individuals, less restrained and controlled by the laws, social arrangements, or governments, under which

they live, and being individually more free to think, act, speak, employ and develop their minds and bodies, their talents, industry, means, and time, in any way they please. Individuality of character among a people is the exponent of the civil liberty they enjoy; nationality of character the exponent of the physical or material circumstances or influences under which they live. Where restraint on free action is the principle of government, and it is at present equally so in the nominally constitutional and the nominally autocratic governments of the Continent, individuality of character cannot form itself; every movement and action of the individual in private life is under government regulation and superintendence, and is formed under it. The only diversity of character that can be developed in this social state, is that of class-character. The military, clerical, legal, commercial, and agricultural classes, the noble and not noble, the functionary and servient classes, may be distinctly marked, and the individuals of one class distinguished from those of another; but apart from the characteristics of his class, the continental man has rarely any stamp or prominent character of his own. This want is observable in the literature, as well as in the society, of the Continent. It is not individual character, but class-character, that the French or German dramatists generally present to their readers. It is the type of some class—the type, real or imaginary, of kings, heroes, lovers, villains—but not an individual king, hero, lover, or villain, acting under circumstances and feelings, and with sentiments peculiar to his own individual mind, position, and character. Macbeth, Hamlet, Othello, are individual characters. The Misanthrope, the Miser,

Tartuffe, are class-characters. Wilhelm Meister, Werther, Carl Moor, Don Carlos, neither represent class nor individual character, but are splendid personifications of sentiments, passions, and ideal combinations of interests, for which a personage must be produced and named, but the personage is felt to be only ideal, a conventionalism, not a reality in human nature, and the ideal character which is not within the scope of truthful nature finds no permanent sympathy in the human breast. No national literature is so rich as the German in well imagined stories, deeply interesting plots and entanglements, affecting scenes and situations, yet, from the want of individualised character true to nature, very little of this glorious display of imaginative production is floating down the stream of time to future generations. From the want in the social state of Germany of strongly marked individual character, the dramatist, poet, or novelist is thrown upon class-character, which is the only development of character before him in real life, or upon ideal personages representing exaggerated passion and sentiment not true to human nature. It would be difficult to name a single character in the whole range of the imaginative literature of Germany, which the public, even in Germany, quotes, or speaks of as a reality, in the way our public quotes or speaks of the characters drawn by Shakspeare, Scott, Fielding, Smollett. In the modern school of painting, this want of individuality of character in the personages represented, is even more striking than in the literature of the Continent. The Racines and Corneilles of the brush have about half a dozen whole length figures of faultless beauty and correctness of outline, which are the same in

every picture or story in their historical paintings. The heroes or heroines of one piece of canvas might play at "change sides, the king's coming," with those of the canvas on the opposite wall, and nobody would imagine that they were not in their original places, positions, and characters. The same faces and figures, the same graces, attitudes, smiles, frowns, do for every story of the same kind; and the artist's figures, like inferior actors on the stage, are always the same personages, different only in the dresses and appendages of the characters they represent. This want of individuality in painting, as in dramatic literature, may be caused by the structure or government of society in this age, which is adverse to all individuality of action.

It appears to me that in the Danish literature of the day, more of this individuality of character is to be found than in the German or French. I have been endeavouring to gain some idea of the Danish mind and character by reading the light popular literature of the language. The romances, novels, or tales, that are in the hands of the people, have, in this reading country, some influence in forming their mind and character. These works are altogether national. The romances are not merely pictures, or intended pictures, of life in the middle ages, but of Danish life in the middle ages. But of this class of imaginative production, at the head of which stands Ingemann, I shall speak in some future note. Here in Sleswick is the scene of many of the events he has drawn out of dusty and neglected chronicles, and represented in brilliant colours. The ordinary novels represent Danish life and manners much more vividly than the ordinary French or Ger-

man novels represent French or German life and manners. The Danish, like the English novelist, knows nothing of foreign habits, ideas, or modes of living; is not, like the German writer, a cosmopolite; and is perhaps all the more racy, natural, and truthful in his delineations of character, from his powers being confined within a small circle of society, and being above rather than below the subjects they are employed upon. In the naval, and very popular, novels, composed upon the biography of Niels Juel and of Tordenskiold (whose real life was a romance, for he rose from the humble condition of a tailor's apprentice, by merit alone, and in an aristocratic age, to be a vice-admiral at nine-and-twenty), the variety and individuality of the characters represented are very remarkable. They are not merely class-characters, but individual characters ably drawn; and it is only in a social state in which civil liberty is practically enjoyed, and allows the action and development of individual character, that such characters could have been formed, or such delineations of them conceived by the novelist.

Flekkeby,——1851.—I have been fluttering about these villages on the frontier of Sleswick and Holstein, and occasionally settling for a short time in one of them, in order to get acquainted with the real state of the German or Platt Deutsch speaking part of the population of the duchy of Sleswick. Their grievances were considered a good and sufficient ground for the "Schleswig-Holstein" war, and their use of the German tongue a sufficient right to claim that portion, at least, of the duchy which they inhabit, as part of the new German empire. The German press has a great talent for magnifying molehills into mountains,

and making little things appear great to little men. The proportion of the population of Sleswick who speak only German, or rather a Platt Deutsch, more allied to the English or the Danish in its structure as a language, than to the cultivated German, is surprisingly small. The German scholar in our country may satisfy himself of the little affinity between this dialect and the cultivated German, by referring to the Platt Deutsch Idylls of Voss, the author of the "Louise," who composed these pastoral dialogues in the Platt Deutsch of Holstein when he resided at Eutin. They will be found in any complete edition of Voss's poetical works. As to the number of the population of the duchy of Sleswick who speak this Platt Deutsch and no other language, we may form some judgment from the statistical fact that the whole duchy contains only 300,000 people. Between the Eyder, the acknowledged ancient boundary dividing the German empire and the Danish dominions, and a line drawn from Flendsburg to Tondern, beyond which it is not assumed, by the most unscrupulous, that the German element extends, the whole population of ten towns of sufficient importance to be post stations, and have town regulations, amounts only to about 39,700 souls, and this including the town of Flendsburg of about 18,000 inhabitants, who, no doubt, speak Platt Deutsch as well as Danish, but are altogether Danish in their political interests and feelings. The German writers claim every country in which any form of German is, or has been, spoken as part of their visionary empire, forgetting that in Switzerland, Belgium, America, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, two languages are used indifferently in some parts, and in distinct districts

in others, without any idea of different nationalities, rights, or duties. It may be doubted if so many as 80,000 people in the duchy of Sleswick speak Platt Deutsch habitually, or if 40,000 of these speak Platt Deutsch only, and do not also speak Danish. There are more Welsh people in a single county of Wales who do not speak English, and more Highlanders in Perthshire or Rosshire who only speak Gaelic, than there are people in Sleswick, or all the Danish kingdom, who do not speak or understand Danish. In the yard of this country inn I see at this moment the recruits of the 4th regiment of dragoons, and who have newly arrived from Sealand, assisting the farmer, and making themselves understood, with some difficulty no doubt, just as Scotch labourers from Aberdeenshire might find in Somersetshire. In the eye of reason and common sense, the claim of the German press to this territory because a small proportion of the inhabitants speak German, appears very absurd; and if the claim, legally and historically, were ever so good, it appears absurd to have called out a crusade of forty millions of the most educated, philosophic, learned, and intellectual people of Europe, as the Germans call themselves, for the recovery of this holy land of the nineteenth century, when an umpire, and the protocols of civilians with their documents, could have settled the claim in peace. If every petty district in which a language is used different from that of the majority of a nation and its government, is to be torn by force of arms from the country of which it has for many generations been a part, and erected into an independent state, or attached to another state of different laws and customs, merely because the people have originally been of the same race

and tongue, Europe would return to the social and political condition of the fifteenth century. This very question was fought over in 1428, on this very ground, between the Holstein nobles and Eric of Pomerania, or rather his brave queen Philippa, daughter of Henry IV. of England, and a sister worthy of our Henry V. From the death of Queen Margaret, who had united the three Scandinavian kingdoms, the contest between the Germans and Danes had been going on, until the progress of civilisation and the interests of all nations to maintain the integrity of acknowledged territories, put an end to petty wars for aggrandisement. It was reserved for the most educated of European people in their first attempt at self-government by a parliament of the most enlightened of their teachers, to revive the principles of warfare, and contempt for constitutional rights, which had made Europe little better than a den of wild beasts, in the middle ages. The grievances of the German-speaking portion of the Sleswick population, be they 40,000 or 80,000, or 100,000 individuals, appear to be those which a minority always suffers when it has to give way to a majority. Here is a majority of two-thirds using the Danish or Sleswick laws and language, imposing their laws and language on the minority, and saying, our Danish or Sleswick laws and language did not come to you, you came to them. These laws in the most remote times existed up to the Eyder, and do so now. The laws are made and administered in the language of the majority, which is the Danish, exactly on the same principle that England makes and administers laws in the English language to Welsh and Gaelic provinces, much more populous than Sleswick, and

to an Irish population, equal to one-third of the whole British population. It is the duty of every rational being to make himself acquainted with the language of the government and law he lives under, and it is but offering a premium to wilful ignorance to adopt the language of the minority, instead of leaving it to the minority to adopt the language of the majority, or suffer the inconvenience of their ignorance. It is held out, ad captandum, that it is a monstrous grievance that divine service should be performed in a language unknown to the congregation, and so it would be if it were true. But in every parish in this part of Denmark, in which there is a mixed population, there are two services, one in Danish and one in German, exactly as in our highland parishes in Scotland; and more exactly, for unless a large proportion, a large majority, are Gaelic in our highland districts, a Gaelic preacher is not always provided. The Duke of Augustenburg, and his brother during his Stadtholdership, had filled all the vacant pulpits in Sleswick with German ministers, who could only preach in German, even where the congregations only understood Danish; and it was this abuse of his power, and the petitions from the inhabitants of those parishes, that induced the government to supersede the Augustenburg stadtholder only a few weeks before he put himself at the head of the insurrection, seduced the troops from their allegiance, and seized the fortress of Rendsburg. These ministers were but political agents. On the defeat of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army at Idstedt, they fled from their charges, and their pulpits were filled with ministers of the Gospel who understood the language of the people, and, where it was needful, could preach in both languages.

The case of these political pulpit-agents, who fled conscious-struck from parochial charges in which they had openly taken a leading part in seducing the people from their allegiance, is represented by the German newspapers as one of great hardship,—as similar to that of the ministers of the Free Kirk of Scotland, and equally deserving the support, by liberal subscriptions, of the German public. The German public is not very much addicted to subscribing money in its most ardent sympathies, and wisely distinguishes between voluntary sacrifice to religious principle and the involuntary abdication of clerical office from political agitation and partisanship. The ministers and the public functionaries who were capable, by their knowledge of the two languages, of discharging their duties to the public, and who had quietly remained in their charges and offices, under the insurrectionary government, have not been removed or questioned; and several of these who at first had fled with the others, returned and resumed their functions. Those who had been intruded into offices as a reward for their partisanship, were of course dismissed, and their predecessors reinstated. It is difficult to see how the old government could have done less, consistently with justice and its own safety. The oppressions and grievances denounced by the German newspapers appear to me, here on the spot, to have no existence, to be altogether fictitious. During my stay here I have become acquainted with the Heredfoged, a civil functionary equivalent to our Scotch resident sheriff-substitute, or rather, perhaps, to the procurator fiscal, of a county, the duties being more administrative and executive, than judicial. This gentleman, who had been an advocate in the first practice, had, on account of his adherence to the

Danish cause, and his personal influence with the people, been made prisoner by the insurgents and carried to Rendsburg, and confined there. He could not be very much inclined to lenity towards the partisans of the insurrectionary government, yet he thinks that not only the people, but many of the leaders of the people, were but the dupes and tools of a class of agitators in the university and educational institutions, in the pulpits, and law courts. He mentioned a strong corroborative fact,—that in swearing in the village constables, or bailiffs and headmen, who are always taken from the most respectable peasant-proprietors, only three in his extensive district demurred to taking the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the King of Denmark. On conversing with them he found that their objection was not political but religious. They had sworn allegiance and fidelity to the "Schleswig-Holstein" government, and were in doubt whether they could annul that oath. Their scruples were removed by telling them that the oath of allegiance and fidelity could only be binding when tendered by a lawful existing authority; and the Stadtholderate sitting at Kiel was not a lawful authority, and was not now existing. In Italy or Austria these respectable peasants would have been imprisoned and shot for their hesitation. Here, the government officer calls on them, reasons with them, gives them time for consideration. There is neither imprisonment, flogging, chains, nor death here, but simply "if you choose to be a faithful subject in your native country, take the oaths to be so, and remain; if not, sell your property, and go." This is surely not to be called oppression or grievance.

The country in this neighbourhood resembles Devonshire, with its winding narrow lanes between mounds on which hedges and hedge-row trees grow, unpruned, in the wildest luxuriance. The little fields are all hedged in. The villages and hamlets have their greens and roadside little commons, on which geese and pigs stray about, and a goat or two, and a cow find a living. The land is divided into small peasant properties, but none are so small as not to keep several cows. The Hüttenerberge are a range of downs, bare and dry, like those above Brighton, from which the view, although the highest point is not above 400 feet above the sea level, is very extensive. The lakes, Gross Wittensee, Klein Wittensee, Bistensee, surrounded by noble woods, lie at the foot of these downs. The quantity of surface boulder stones in this tract of country is remarkable. The splitting them with wedges and shaping them into door-steps, gate-posts, and such articles, is a trade in the village of Gross Wittensee. The foundation stones of houses, the facings of the road-side banks, of the cottage garden walls or hedge banks, are all taken out of these inexhaustible stores of boulders. In the old cultivated fields they have been removed and buried, or built into the fences. In the uncultivated moorland tracts and on the land, such as these downs, only recently taken into cultivation, they lie scattered about upon the surface. These boulder stones are independent masses of granite, which have been in motion. They have been rounded, and their corners and edges blunted or rubbed off, not by the attrition of other stones against them,—for, in that case, the under sides on which they rest would not have been rubbed or rounded, not having

been in collision with the attriting stones, — but the whole masses have been in motion and rolled about. They are generally of the size of a large chest, but may be met with as large as the hull of a boat. So far all observers agree. But when mineralogists tell us that these boulder stones, which are scattered over all the north of Europe, and in Britain as well as in this peninsula, are of the same kind of granite in appearance, colour, and constituent parts, as that of the ground rock of Sweden and Norway, and have consequently come from thence by some great unknown convulsion, they are observing through the eyes of their imaginations. These boulder stones, in this country, are almost all of granite, grey and red perhaps in equal abundance; but those of gneis are rare. The granite is sometimes crossed with a vein of the same kind, but that does not constitute the peculiar structure of gneis, — the kind of approach to a striated, or it may be called, polarised arrangement of the particles constituting to the eye the stone called gneis. The Scandinavian peninsula, however, is of gneis, not granite. There is more true granite, perhaps, in a square mile of this peninsula in these boulder stones, than in a square mile of the Scandinavian peninsula. There is another difficulty as great as that of where they came from, viz., how they came? The usual theory is, that they have been transported on fields of ice, or glaciers, and deposited in the bottom of the ocean, on which these ice fields or glaciers floated, where they have been rounded by friction, and rolled about by currents, before this peninsula was elevated above the water. This would account perfectly for the boulders found scattered in the sand or gravel, which is the lowest

known stratum of this peninsula, but not for those found in the clay or marle, which is the next stratum above the sand or gravel, and which, being soluble in water, could not have been formed, or have existed, at the bottom of an ocean agitated by such terrible currents. The boulders are stuck in the clay, like bullets in an earthen wall. They are rounded, or rubbed, on all sides, and not merely on the upper sides, so that they must have come into their present habitat, rounded and rolled, subsequently to the formation of the clay or marle in which they now rest or are embedded: and that clay or marle bed could not have been formed and have existed at the bottom of an ocean of furious currents, rolling heavy masses of rock over it. Still less does this theory account for the immense quantity of these stones at present lying upon the surface of the upper stratum, the present vegetable mould or soil, and not imbedded in it, nor even covered over by its gradual accumulation. These surface boulders are as numerous as those below the surface. They lie upon the surface of peat earth which, for many feet below them, consists of decayed leaves and other vegetable matter. It seems just reasoning to conclude that whatever power brought these surface boulders to their present habitat, it was one acting after the formation of the vegetable soil on which they now rest, and that although they may have been rolled and rounded under the sea, they could not have been deposited under the sea upon strata of soft clay, marle, or vegetable mould, all dissolvable in water.

It is a remarkable feature in the formation of this peninsula, that its deep fiords, or inlets of the sea, are all on the Baltic side, their mouths towards the

east, but that almost all the drainage of the country runs to the west, into the German Ocean, even from springs or bogs close to the Baltic. The action of running water on soft soils has not scooped out those valleys filled with water called fiords, nor the action of the sea against the land; for a chain of islands, as the land is at present shaped, defends the east side of the peninsula from the Baltic. On the west coast, with all the drainage of the land running towards it, and all the force of the Northern ocean beating against it, no fiords have been formed. These have not been the agents by which gulphs, fiords, valleys with or without water, have been formed on the face of the earth.

It is the duty of the traveller to point out what he observes, whether it be favourable or not to existing speculations and theories, but it is not his vocation to invent geological theories to account for what he observes in the very small range of country to which he is confined. It is for the scientific geologist to collect the stray facts of many travellers, and form out of them a consistent theory. One of the stray facts of value to the geologist is, that bones of extinct mammalia have been found this summer, according to the local newspapers, near Flendsburg. In what soil and situation, and what the nature of the remains, and of what species of animal, was not stated. It is supposed to be the first discovered in this peninsula; but the unfossilised horns of the great deer, similar to those found in Ireland, and also of reindeer, have been frequently found in peat bogs both in the peninsula, and in the islands.

CHAP. X.

SLESWICK — AN ANCIENT PLACE OF TRADE. — CONSIDERABLE TRADE WITH ENGLAND IN CANUTE THE GREAT'S TIME. — ARTICLES OF COMMERCE IN THOSE TIMES BETWEEN THE SOUTH AND NORTH OF EUROPE. — THE CATHEDRAL. — THE ALTAR SCREEN OF CARVED OAK. — THE DANNEWERK. — THE SCHLOSS GOTTORP. — SITES OF ANCIENT TOWNS AND HOUSES. — DECAY OF SLESWICK. — THE DIFFERENCE OF THE TWO SIDES OF THE PENINSULA. — FIORDS ON THE BALTIC SIDE ONLY. — HAVE BEEN LAKES ORIGINALLY. — FISH OF THE BALTIC. — BREEDING OF CARP IN HOLSTEIN TO A LATE PERIOD. — CHEAP LIVING. — OVERLOOKED BY OUR ENGLISH EMIGRANTS IN SEARCH OF A CHEAP COUNTRY. — DISAPPOINTMENT OF SUCH EMIGRANTS. — OBSERVATIONS ON THEIR INFLUENCE ABROAD ON THE CONTINENTAL PEOPLE. — THEIR LARGE EXPENDITURE ABROAD. — THE LITTLE INTEREST THE ENGLISH PEOPLE HAVE IN THEIR TREATMENT BY AUSTRIA.

SLESWICK TOWN, 1851. — This is a poor decaying place of about 8000 inhabitants, living on the two sides of one very long, and cruelly ill-paved street, which extends round the head of an inlet, or fiord of the Baltic, called the Sley. The Sley penetrates far inland, the town being at least twenty-five miles from its mouth in the Baltic. The original name of this town, the name at least by which it is mentioned in the ancient Saga, was Hedaby, or rather Hedaby was the older and original town, and stood on the opposite side of the water near the ferry, where the oldest Christian church in Denmark, still called Hedaby church, is pointed out to the traveller, a very humble structure with nothing remarkable about it. Sleswick, or Hedaby, was, it is said, a place of considerable trade with England in the reign of Canute the Great. Goods were transported by sea to the mouth of the Eyder, and up its main

branch called the Treene as far as Hollingsted, from whence the land carriage to Sleswick is not above ten miles. This would be the shortest communication between the North Sea and the Baltic, in the ages when the sea passage through the Sound was unsafe for the merchant; and Sleswick might possibly have been a considerable entrepôt for reshipment. The trade between different countries in those early ages has probably been much more extensive than historians allow. They represent the inhabitants of the north of Europe as barbarous pagans, without arts, or civilisation, and living by piracy and plunder. But piracy indicates trade. The pirate, or Viking, certainly did not fit out ships to cruize on seas in which merchant vessels were unknown, or even very scarce. The complaint that the sea was infested by Saxon pirates, is as old as the first occupation of Britain by the Romans; and the Northmen went on piratical cruizes down to the middle of the twelfth century, when they became christianised. The great extent of piracy proves a considerable extent of commerce in those ages. We may even guess at the articles, and channels, of this commerce. Furs from the north of Europe were used in the south, not merely for comfort or ornament, but as distinctive of rank, and the ermine robes, or fur trimmings, indicated regal, judicial, and ecclesiastical dignity, and were necessary appendages to it. Wax, another product of the countries now included in Russia, was an article of first necessity in the service of the church of Rome. Amber, also, was in great request for beads. In return, or in exchange, for such articles, Flanders had wine, silk, and fine cloth for the highest ranks;

England had wool, iron, leather, salt, and other commodities for the community. From Novogorod to Wisby, there was, in the earliest times, a regular trade, and Wisby was, from its situation in the middle of the Baltic, an entrepôt from and to which goods were conveyed by way of Lubec, Sleswick, and other towns on the Baltic, long before the Hans-towns appeared on the scene of commerce.

In the wars of the Holstein nobles with Eric of Pomerania, the town of Sleswick was besieged by Eric, and the entrance of the Sley from the Baltic was stopped up by sinking vessels in the channel. None but small vessels can now get into this fiord. Although the town is ancient, and has been important, it has no building, or remains, of former times in its street. The cathedral is a huge, barn-like structure which has been rebuilt upon ancient foundations with no regard to the original style, or ornaments, if it had any. It contains, however, one of the finest specimens of carved wood work in Europe, an altar screen of oak, fifty feet high, twenty-six broad, and two feet thick, representing, in twenty-two compartments, scenes of our Saviour's life, and sufferings, with about 400 figures, some of which are carved through the oak as clear, independent statues. It was finished, after seven years' labour, in 1521, by the artist H. Brughmann; and, according to a tradition found in most Protestant towns possessing any remarkable piece of art from the middle ages, the priests put out the artist's eyes, that he might not execute any work to eclipse it. It would have taken a high place among the carved works in oak at the Exhibition in the Crystal Palace. The great relic of former times in this neighbour-

hood, is a work which, after the lapse of a thousand years, has again fulfilled the purpose for which it was originally constructed, and has been as useful in the nineteenth century, as it was in the ninth,—the celebrated Dannewerk. This work is an earthen wall, or rampart, extending from the Sley near old Hedaby, about four miles south of the present Sleswick, to Hollingsted on the Treene, a branch of the Eyder joining that river at Frederickstadt, and navigable for small craft from Hollingsted to the sea. The length of this rampart is about ten English miles. The line of defence against an enemy penetrating northwards into the country, has been so well chosen, and the bends it takes to occupy the most advantageous ground are so judicious, that the Dannewerk has been occupied by the Danish army in the late war for the defence of the country, and found to be an excellent field work in the best position, and requiring little alteration by the modern engineer. It was constructed of earth about the year 808 by a Jutland king, Godfried, to defend his territories to the north of it. Olaf Tryggvesen, before he became king of Norway, appears, by the Saga of his life, to have served under a Sclavonic chief who attacked this rampart, along with the Emperor of Germany, about the year 988, but without success. About the year 1060 the wall was repaired, raised, and strengthened apparently with stone and brickwork, and by forts, or towers, and about the year 1440, Queen Margaret repaired the old work so extensively that it is called by the neighbouring peasants, Margaret's wall. In the late war, it was occupied by the Danish army as the key to the country north of it. The town of Sleswick, and its château, or

Schloss, of Gottorp, standing in a bog near the middle of its long street, are commanded by higher ground behind them, but are important points to an army occupying the Dannewerk.

If our sanitary commissioners do not exaggerate the doleful effects of want of drainage in our towns, and the mortal diseases engendered by the proximity of stagnant waters to our dwellings, it is surprising that the human race has not become extinct here, and generally in the north of Europe. An islet in a pool, or bog, or marsh, was a chosen spot for kings and nobles to build a residence upon; and, for the people, a village or town was not habitable, unless it had the defence of a pond, or marsh, on one side; and if the place had this advantage on two sides, like Hamburgh, and every important place of any antiquity, it soon became a city. People in former times had a sharper enemy than fever and ague to guard against, and safety from surprise, a small front to defend, and a retreat by water on one or more sides, have evidently been the considerations upon which the site of every ancient town, Rome itself not excepted, has been chosen or preferred. In this old town, the Schloss of Gottorp, a square lump of a building in the French château style, built upon an ancient site, has been the residence of branches of royal families, or inhabited by the governors of the province, until our times; and it is situated in a stagnant pool, overgrown with reeds, and reeking with miasma.

This little metropolis was supported by the expenditure of the incomes of the functionaries and departments connected with the government of the duchy of Sleswick. There was all the machinery of

a kingdom for the affairs of a county. As the seat of government is now removed to Flendsburg, it is probable that this town, which was the centre of the German movement in Sleswick, will fall into decay. It has no trade. I found but one small vessel at its quay, discharging Norway deals.

Almost all the drainage of this peninsula, it has already been noticed, falls westwards to the North Sea, not to the Baltic. The sources of the Eyder, and of its main branches the Treene and the Sorge, are close to the Baltic or its fiords, the sources of the Treene are within four miles of the Sley, yet, except where the canal takes a portion of the water of the Eyder into the Baltic, these sluggish streams, or ditches, find their outlet across the peninsula, in the North Sea at Tonningen on the mouth of the Eyder. The fiords, or inlets of sea, on the other hand, are altogether on the Baltic side of the peninsula. On the ocean side of it there are none, that of Ringkioping being merely a shallow space of water banked in by a spit of sand from the sea, and the great fiord, or inlet of Limfiord belongs to the Baltic, and only got a new opening into the North Sea about thirty years ago. This new opening has now become a sound entering into the Cattegat from the North Sea, and is used by small vessels not exceeding eight feet draught of water. It makes an island of the north end of Jutland, which was formerly accessible by a land road over a narrow slip of land which, for at least eight centuries, had separated the Limfiord from the ocean. In the year 1061, the Norwegian king, Harold Haardrade, being blocked up with his ships in the Limfiorde by a superior fleet of the Danish king, drew his vessels

in the night across this narrow slip of land between the head of the fiord and the North Sea, and thus escaped. If this peninsula could turn herself round in her bed, and present her Baltic side with its long fiords, sheltered bays, deep water, and safe anchorages, to the ocean, she would have been a suitable party for the "young Germany" to espouse. The German North Sea-fleet would not have been at a loss for a harbour to float in. But, as the earth is at present constituted, there is not in Europe so inhospitable and dangerous a coast as the ocean side of this peninsula. From Blankanese, at the entrance of the Elbe, to the Scaw Point, at the entrance of the Cattegat, there is not a harbour in the whole extent of three hundred miles which a vessel of ordinary size can enter, the land is low, and not visible at any distance, and is beset with sand banks far out to sea. The geologist might find matter for speculation in this difference between the two sides of this peninsula. The fiords on the Baltic side have not been formed by the action of that sea on the soft soil, the sand, or gravel of the land. The same cause would have produced the same effects on the ocean side. The fiords have probably been, as I have ventured to suggest in a former note, chains of small inland lakes which, from the prevalence of westerly winds, have washed away, in the course of ages, the necks of land that separated them, and at last had worn a passage, for the accumulated water, into the sea. The shape of these fiords indicate this formation from lakes. They are broad lakes at their heads, contracting into a narrow passage, as at Fredericksort, in the Kiel fiord, at Eckernfiorde, as I observed in the fiord of that name,

at Missunde in this fiord, the Sley, and then expanding again into another lake opening into the sea.

The fish of these fiords, and of the Baltic in general, would deserve the consideration of the naturalist. The cod, haddock, whiting, herring, have their representatives, but they are dwarf varieties of the ocean fish of the same species; or they are the fry of the ocean fish which have strayed, or been driven into the Baltic, and not finding the salt water or food congenial to the species, have not acquired their proper size or flavour. The flat fish, flounders, plaice, dabs, which thrive best in brackish water, are the best, and most plentiful. Lobsters are not found in the Baltic. Salmon, which abound on the Swedish side, are not found in the fiords on this side, and there are no streams of fresh water here for them to spawn in. Fish are neither good nor abundant in this part of the Baltic, although there is a class of fishermen in Kiel, Eckernfiorde, and Sleswick, who gain a living by their business in these fiords. The stromming, a species of herring of the size of the sprat, is caught in great quantities in autumn, and salted or smoke dried, forms a very important branch of trade.

The breeding of carp and tench in fish ponds, continued to be a considerable business in Holstein and Sleswick long after the Reformation, the suppression of monasteries, and the neglect of the observances of fish diet, on certain days, by the public. It is curious to see how unexpectedly the most different branches of industry may be found connected together, and dependent on each other. The breeding of carp and tench had survived the Reformation, because a custom, derived no doubt

from the Catholic times, prevailed in the manufactories, and latterly in the sugar refineries in Hamburgh, to give the workmen, house-servants, and all connected with the establishment, as much carp as they could eat on Christmas-day, New-year's-day, and All Saints'-day: and on these three festivals the masters also made presents to their principal customers of a dish of carp. A similar custom prevails at this day in London among millers, with regard to turkeys. At Christmas, every London miller is expected to make a present of a turkey to each of his customers, the bakers, who take flour from him; and there are millers who lay out above a hundred pounds sterling every Christmas in Norfolk turkeys. A great deal of refined sugar was sent from Hamburgh in those days to Russia, and all parts of the Continent. Buonaparte's continental decrees, and the English blockade, obliged the Russians to refine sugar for themselves: and the kind of monopoly of this trade, which Hamburgh had possessed, and all the old usages which had grown up under the shelter of this monopoly, gradually died away, and among them this demand for carp, and the branch of husbandry which depended on it. The ponds were drained and ploughed, or were neglected, until they were in a short time reduced to the number that could, with profit, supply the moderate demand for carp and tench. Some demand there always is, and much more than in England, for fresh-water fish, because the sea-fish brought to Hamburgh are generally bad and dear; and carp stewed in wine, with spices, and all the old cookery of the convent, is what ladies call a company dish for high occasions, in old-fashioned families.

Living is much better here than in most parts of

the Continent. Beef, mutton, pork, and all vegetables are of superior quality. The soldiers of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army, from the south of Germany, and from Prussia, found themselves in a land of milk and honey in this country; and all their published accounts are unanimous in praising the goodness, abundance, and cheapness of provisions. The English and Irish who go abroad for economy have overlooked this country, although it is not only cheap, but in many respects very like England, and very eligible.

The great number of British residing on the Continent spend undoubtedly a vast sum annually. Take the forty thousand English, reckoned to be always in France, and reckon their average yearly expenditure to be only 100*l.* per head, and we have four millions annually of British income spent in France alone; and if we consider the multitudes of British travellers and residents in Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, all spending freely, and generally of the classes which have good incomes, it may be a low estimate to name eight millions sterling as the sum probably expended every year by British subjects on the Continent. Is this expenditure abroad an unmixed evil, — a loss of so much of the general income of the country, which should have been circulating, and giving employment in our home markets? The theory of Mr. Macculloch, and his school of political economists, that the income of Irish absentees, spent out of the country, was of no injury to the Irish people, because the same amount of Irish industry is called into action to produce the said income, wheresoever it may be expended by the Irish landlord, in Italy or in Ireland, stands, like a few other theories in political economy,

on one leg instead of two. The same amount of industry, no doubt, is, under the same circumstances, exerted to produce the same two incomes from the land; but, when produced, the income spent at home returns immediately into the home industry-market to reproduce itself. The baker, butcher, brewer, haberdasher, and other tradesmen among whom the income is spent by the landlord at home, employ it immediately in their several circles of trade and reproductive industry. The income spent abroad by the absentee landlord is taken out of the home circle altogether, — is not reproductive of industry and capital at home, — has acted but once in the home labour market, viz. in its production, but not in its expenditure, and subsequent reproduction by home-industry. Political economy puts her cap and bells upon the head of the patient public, in defending absenteeism by this one-sided argument. But the money spent abroad is not so entirely lost to the country as the opponents of their argument imagine. A large proportion of the income of every English family on the Continent is expended on English articles of dress, comfort, or luxuries. The absentees residing in a foreign town spread imperceptibly English tastes and habits around them. In such towns, for instance, as Boulogne, Tours, Caen, you find grocers' shops, drapers' shops, and shops of various other dealers, with English cards and sign-boards, and a stock of English goods, evidently much greater than the consumpt of the English residents alone would require. They have diffused the taste for many articles of British industry, and may be considered, in some degree, our commercial travellers. If we are to manufacture and sell, we must

have customers embued with a taste for our manufactures, our habits, our comforts, to buy what we produce. The absentees rarely cease to be English in their habits and requirements. They, and their foreign imitators may, perhaps, in this way, be making no inconsiderable return to the industry of our producers at home, although the amount of the expenditure of British income on the Continent since the peace of 1815 is something altogether enormous. In these thirty-five years of peace, a sum not less, on the most moderate computation, than two hundred and eighty millions sterling has been expended by British travellers and residents on the Continent. Our expenditure on the Continent during the war never amounted annually to such a sum for the support of our armies as our absentees and travelling gentry expend. Our war expenditure was principally in articles produced at home, and the money still circulated in the home industry market. The fifty thousand soldiers in the campaigns of Portugal and Spain, and at last at Waterloo, did not certainly expend 100*l.* per head yearly on the Continent,—which our fifty thousand absentees do on the lowest estimate,—and by far the greater part of the equipment and cost was expended in our own home markets, giving, no doubt, an unnatural impulse to some branches of manufacture connected with military outfit, and being in no way reproductive to the state; but still it was expended in the home market. It circulated at home among our labouring classes.

The absentees themselves appear to be the great losers. They go abroad for economy, and are disappointed, for it is the economy of privation that

they find abroad. If they spend less than at home, it is because they must do without many of the comforts of English life. They go abroad for the education of their children, and are miserably disappointed in the result. Their boys grow up aliens and strangers both in their old and in their new country, unacquainted with the men, affairs, habits, and ideas of the people of their native land, with whom in future life they have to act, to be in competition with, and to gain their bread. And what is the compensation in the foreign education of a young man for this radical defect in his future position in life in Britain? Nothing but a knowledge of one, or perhaps two languages, so generally and readily acquired, that it does not make a difference of ten pounds a year in a shopboy's wages, or a clerk's salary, that he speaks and writes French and German. Young men educated abroad, depending upon such a slender thread in English life and affairs, and wanting the peculiar habits, ideas, activity of mind and body, turn of thinking, kind of every day knowledge and smartness necessary for working well with English bred people of the same class and age, are lost in the stirring English world of business. Girls too, the foreign bred, may have escaped any positive contamination, but in the *table d'hôte* life the unhome and morally unwholesome life of strangers in a strange country, they are exposed, more than the native females of the same class and age, or their countrywomen at home, to have the purity of mind, the delicacy of modesty, the unsullied English innocence of the female mind and manners, somewhat dimmed or rubbed off; and the restraints of the family circle of friends on imprudence, the influences

of opinion and example are too often weakened. In every town abroad with English absentee residents, how many marriages we hear of contracted under circumstances and with persons that parents could not have approved of? How many unions of innocence with depravity? As they sow, these absentee parents must reap. They reap disappointment, having sowed in folly.

Our absentees are, unwittingly, the instruments, in the hands of Providence, of much higher and more important social effects in Europe than advancing or impeding the progress of our industry, the interests of our trade and manufactures, or their own well-being. They disseminate English ideas, and habits of civil and political liberty in action, thought, and speech. Slaves cannot speak the language and follow the thoughts of free men without becoming imbued with a sense and irresistible desire for freedom. The English language and literature are now more generally understood, all over the Continent, than the French were before the Revolution, and have become more influential among the middle as well as the upper and learned classes, and are elevating the ideas and opinions of the whole European population, more than any language and literature ever did before, except, perhaps, the Latin during the middle ages and on the revival of literature. The intellectual empire of England, by this diffusion and adoption of English tastes, habits, ideas, language, and literature, is unexampled in history; for the influence of the classical languages and literature was merely that of a dead and gone-by social state scarcely understood; the influence of English ideas, tastes, habits, language, and literature, is that of living men and of an

existing social condition, and the only instance of it among the European people, in which the individual enjoys freedom of body, mind, property, industry, without superintendence or control by his government. The present social condition of the Continent, the interference of governments with the social action and civil rights of all men, the landwehr and conscription systems, the passport system, the centralisation of all industrial movement and enterprise under a state control, and the want of any proper influence or representation of the middle and lower classes in the legislature, cannot long exist beside the spirit and principles daily and hourly imbibed from the language, literature, and personal intercourse of the English. England seems destined to revolutionise all the old governments of the Continent. Our absentees, unknowingly and unintentionally, are the great incendiaries. It is a common observation that the Englishman never, like the German or the Frenchman, endeavours to make himself agreeable, sociable, and liked in a foreign country, never feels himself at home when abroad, but is always a cold, reserved, isolated being. This is true, yet—account for it if you can—no travelling or resident strangers of any other country leave such deep and lasting impressions upon society in the lands they visit, upon the ideas, tastes, habits, and usages of the people, as the English do. One finds all over the Continent, in almost every house, the adoption or assimilation of something English, or at least supposed to be *à l'anglaise*, should it only be in saddles, bridles, hats, boots, carpets, blankets, or beefsteaks and London porter. Russia and America send out their wealthy and extravagant travellers in

great numbers, as well as England; but one never sees any indication, even in the inns on the road, of their influence on the habits of the country. And who can travel on the Continent without remarking in every little town "English drapery, grocery, saddlery" in the shop windows, and finding in every reading room English newspapers, or the leading articles of the English newspapers in the local newspapers, as far as the editors can venture, and hearing English spoken by every one of ordinary education? This intellectual Anglomania is working deep into society. It is not merely saddles, boots, beefsteaks, and news that the continental people are borrowing from England, but ideas of civil liberty, and of their own rights, and also habits of reasoning upon their social institutions, their interests, and the spirit and acts of their governments. The commotions and agitation for reforms, which have shaken the old governments on the Continent during the last five years, spring from English seed. If Austria, Prussia, and France are to rule the Continent on autocratic principle by civil and military functionaries, they must interdict the English literature and language, and must shut out English residents and travellers from their territories. Austria appears to have fairly and openly begun this exclusion by declaring that, in retaliation for the hospitality and protection England affords to Hungarian, Italian, and German political refugees who have fled to her shores, English travellers may expect to meet with all the trouble and annoyance which the police of Austria can inflict. This raises the question in England—to what extent are British interests or British sympathies involved in protecting a small class of capitalists, annuitants, and idle

gentry, who, for amusement, instruction, or economy, voluntarily expatriate themselves, and wander for years over the Continent, or reside there altogether, exposing themselves, with their eyes open, to all the vexations and oppressions they complain of, and avoiding, by their residence abroad, almost all the contributions by direct or indirect taxes they would have to pay at home for the protection they claim from our Government? They imagine themselves, in their little côteries at Naples, Rome, Florence, or at Tours, Paris, Boulogne, of very great importance in the eyes of the British public; and suppose that if their treatment and distresses came to be matter of discussion between our Government and the states into which they have voluntarily wandered or settled, they would meet with great sympathy and support from the public feeling in this country. They are probably very much mistaken. It is but the other day that the Austrian Government expelled from Pesth the Scotch missionaries for the conversion of the Jews,—quiet, inoffensive, pious men, who had been settled there for some years with their families, and who had been eminently successful in their schools and missionary labours, were supported by contributions from this country, and in whose efforts all Christians of every denomination or Church felt an interest. And what was the sympathy excited in England by this act of Austrian power? The very first question asked by every one was — what induced those missionaries to settle themselves at Pesth, of all places, where they had a foreign language to learn before they could begin their missionary work, while here, in the parish of Marylebone, the Tower Hamlets, Poplar, there was a Jewish

population much greater than at Pesth, and myriads of Jewish children in a lower state of moral and intellectual culture? The ill usage they complain of was of their own seeking. They voluntarily went to a foreign and distant city, and, under a despotic government, to do the harvest work in the fields of Christianity which was quite as needful to be done at home, and might be found as ready for the reapers, in London, or Portsmouth, or wherever Jews do most congregate, as in Hungary or Poland. These distant foreign missions are the romance of good and pious people at home, but they will scarcely bear the scrutiny of common sense into the adaptation of the means to the end. But if, in this case, the expulsion of these missionaries from Austria has raised no excitement or sympathy in the nation, and simply because no rational answer could be given to the question — what business, or opportunities for the conversion of the Jews, had you there that you could not have found at home? — it is not likely that the nation will explode with warlike rage because some Honourable Captain A. B. and his lady have been detained three or four hours at an Austrian frontier custom-house, their luggage unpacked, rumaged and unfolded, their persons stript to shirt and shift, in search of newspapers and letters. The same simple question, why did you go or stay there, to expose yourself to such indignities, would baffle all the attempts to excite a popular feeling in this country, or a very intermeddling propensity in our Government in favour of this class of our absentees and travellers. It is very desirable, certainly, that the youth not only of our wealthier and upper classes, but of all classes, should enjoy the opportunities of

intellectual culture which the acquisition of foreign languages, the acquaintance with foreign literature, manners, laws, institutions, and governments, and the study of the fine arts, and remains of antiquity in foreign lands, in Italy especially, afford to travellers; but is this education worth the eight or ten millions a year expended upon it? Have the fruits brought home been so valuable, so peculiarly beneficial to the religion, morals, manners, literature, and spirit of the nation, that the Government is bound to defend and protect an expenditure abroad of British income by our army of absentees and travellers, greater than the yearly cost of our army on the Continent during the last war; and these absentees and travellers voluntarily exposing themselves to the unworthy treatment they complain of, and avoiding, by their residence abroad, the taxes paid at home for the support of the power of which they claim the protection? It may be reasonably doubted if the continental Powers could confer a greater boon on this country than sending home our absentees and travellers, by making their residence and tours abroad so disagreeable and annoying to them, that none would remain but the small proportion who had commercial or professional business and interests to detain them. The nation might console itself, perhaps, for the intellectual loss, by the material gain, the annual addition of a million or two to the public revenue which the expenditure at home of the yearly amount now spent abroad would, directly or indirectly, bring into the Exchequer. Taxation is the price paid for protection. The absentee who withdraws himself and his income from the taxes of his country, and throws the burden of his share upon

his fellow-subjects at home, is neither morally nor politically entitled to the protection he claims from this country. He is, morally and politically, as truly a smuggler as the steward of a steamer who withdraws from the taxes of the country which protects him his pocketful of cigars, and gets six weeks of workhouse labour for his attempt to evade the legal duties on his property. The intellectual loss to the country may be borne with resignation, by reflecting that our most eminent statesmen, legislators, and authors, in the past and present generation—Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Peel, Russell, Palmerston, Scott, Burns, Wordsworth, Palcy, Carlisle, Dickens, Macaulay, have been very little beholden to foreign travel for their pre-eminence and intellectual superiority; and that our most popular orators and party leaders, as Mr. Cobden himself tells us, return from their travels scarcely so wise as they went. In the ranks of ordinary life, the difference between the travelled and the untravelled seems to be chiefly in their mustachios. Some of the most refined have made, perhaps, more progress than the home-bred and homely-witted in mediæval taste, catholicism, and cookery; but on the whole, if the continental powers were to sweep their dominions clear of English travellers and absentees, the English Constitution, Protestantism, law, our free institutions and spirit would survive, it may be hoped, and the finances of the country would be materially improved.

CHAP. XI.

THE BATTLE OF IDSTEDT THE MOST IMPORTANT IN THIS AGE. — THE DEFEAT OF THE ATTEMPT OF THE LITERARY OR UNIVERSITY POWER TO BECOME IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WHAT THE CHURCH OF ROME HAD BEEN IN THE MIDDLE AGES, THE RULING POWER IN SOCIETY THROUGH THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE. — GERMAN AND DANISH WRITERS ON THE CAUSES OF THE LOSS OF THE BATTLE. — WANT OF OFFICERS IN THE GERMAN ARMY. — CORRUPT ADMINISTRATION IN PROMOTING INEXPERIENCED PRUSSIAN OFFICERS ONLY. — WANT OF AN INTELLIGIBLE CAUSE TO FIGHT FOR. — THE FIELD OF BATTLE. — POSITION OF THE "SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN" ARMY. — DIFFERENT PROSPECTS OF THE TWO GENERALS WILLISEN AND KROGH. — THE FORMER BACKED BY A POPULATION OF FORTY MILLIONS, THE LATTER WITH EVERY EIGHTH MAN OF THE DANISH POPULATION OF A MILLION AND A HALF ALREADY UNDER ARMS. — MARCH AND MANŒUVRES OF THE DANISH ARMY. — TURNS THE LEFT OF GENERAL WILLISEN'S POSITION. — ATTACKS THE CENTRE AND CARRIES THE BATTERIES WITH A BAYONET CHARGE. — TOTAL CONFUSION AND ROUT OF THE "SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN" ARMY. — CHARACTERISTIC CONTRAST BETWEEN THE GERMAN AND DANISH BULLETINS. — THIS BATTLE THE MOST SCIENTIFIC AS WELL AS THE HARDEST FOUGHT OF THIS AGE. — DESIGNS OF PRUSSIA COUNTERACTED BY AUSTRIA. — APPEARANCE AND IMPRESSION OF THE AUSTRIAN SOLDIERY IN THE NORTH OF GERMANY.

FLENDSBURG, JULY 25. 1851. — On this day twelve months ago was fought, on the ground I have been passing over this morning on my way from Sleswick, the most important battle of our times, the battle of Idstedt. In the future history of Europe the results of this battle will be considered by the philosophic historian more important than those of Waterloo for the social state of the Continent. It was but a change of dynastics, the restoration of the old and subversion of the new political powers, in France, and other countries, that was effected by the victory of Waterloo. Here, on the field of Idstedt, was broken the attempt

of the German universities to become in the nineteenth century what the Church of Rome had been in the middle ages,— a ruling power, wielding the public mind and political action of Europe. It was the attempt of a class of men who, like the priesthood in the darker ages, possess on the Continent all the educational and professional influences to form and lead the public mind to right or wrong, who are masters of the press, the schools, the pulpit, and who possess every advantage, except practical wisdom in their political views and probity in their political action, to raise up one vast, united, centralised German empire under their guidance and functionary management, and founded upon principles incompatible with the civil liberty, good government, and well being of the forty millions of people they proposed to unite as one nation under their power, and incompatible with the independent existence of any nationality but their own. The philosophic statesmen of this class, assembled in parliament at Frankfort in 1848, laid it down as a ground principle of their visionary future empire, that all countries subject to any German prince formed integral parts of their "new Germany," however distinct in race, language, laws, physical circumstances, or historical antecedents, and repudiated the claims of Poland, Hungary, and Italy, to be restored to independence. They declared, also, that wheresoever the German race and tongue could be traced, in Switzerland, Alsace, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Scandinavia, in England itself, there the inalienable right of this new Teutonic empire extended. The war against Denmark for the possession of the duchy of Sleswick was a corollary of this new principle among nations. Every means

which the command of the press and of the educational institutions in Germany, from the day-school to the university, could give to this class, and all the influence of their great literary talents, numbers, and social positions which extended from the pulpit, the professorial chair, the seat of the highest state functionary in the cabinet of his sovereign, down to the parish clerk, the village musician, the scene-shifter in the country theatre, had been engaged, from the peace of 1816 to the outbreak of 1848, by a tacit combination, or common tendency imparted by education for a common object, in agitating for a great enthusiastic movement, from which a "new Germania" was to spring up, forty millions strong, with armies, fleets, finances, and a central government, under the guidance of this class of statesmen, and to take her seat among nations with those principles of international law as a dominant European power. War was declared against Denmark in support of those principles. Five kings, those of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Saxony, and Hanover, and all the minor German potentates, some from the unprincipled hope of gaining desirable territories in the struggle, some from false views of the political crisis, and its importance; some blinded and misled by their cabinet functionaries, bred from infancy in the views of the agitators; some bred themselves to be partisans of the cause that would have destroyed their own power, or afraid of the Frankfort Parliament and the power it seemed to wield, sent money, men, and artillery, to aid the "Schleswig-Holstein" insurgent army. The world was made to believe, through means of a more mendacious newspaper press than the history of literature has known in any former period, that all Germany was enthu-

siastic in the cause. The people who might gain by it were so. The literary and professional classes, the educators and the educated at the universities and schools, — the philosophers, authors, artists, lawyers, clergy, functionaries, and expectants on function, — all who might gain, and had nothing to lose, by a social convulsion, were enthusiastic in the cause; and many members of the Frankfort Parliament itself showed their sincerity and enthusiasm by joining the ranks of the "Schleswig-Holstein" insurgent army. But this was not the voice or feeling of the people of Germany; for when this army of literary fanatics and idle adventurers was defeated, some seven hundred volunteers, out of forty millions of people, were all who appeared to replenish its ranks, and redeem the honour of the black, red, and yellow flag of this visionary empire. General Willisen, the chief aide-de-camp of the King of Prussia, a distinguished writer on military tactics and the great movements of armies, and allowed by all to be one of the most scientific officers in Germany, was appointed to the command of this army, on the resignation of General Bonin, a few weeks before the battle of Idstedt. The army was equal in numbers to the Danish — about 33,000 men each — had been three years in the field, had been frequently victorious and always brave, was commanded by officers, in all its ranks, selected as the best from the Prussian service, and who esteemed themselves the best; and the whole army had the most perfect confidence in its own superiority, and the most profound contempt for the enemy. On this morning last year, the Danish General Krogh, unheard of before as a great military commander, by his skilful combination of movements on a precon-

certed plan, and by the energy, endurance, and national spirit of his handful of men — the troops of a million and half of people against the troops of forty millions — gained a complete victory, attacked and defeated, in a selected and fortified position, the German army of equal force, and, as the newspapers boasted, with a reserve of forty millions of people to replenish their ranks, and commanded by the most scientific general in the Prussian service, turned their flank, pierced their centre, drove them panic-struck across the Eyder, and extinguished the enthusiasm for a false object which had brought so many of the youth of Germany into the battle-field; saving Europe, and particularly Germany herself, from an anarchy of philosophers, professors, functionaries, enthusiasts, and place-hunters, ready to trample on all civil rights and social institutions which stood in the way of their visions of political power and personal aggrandisement.

In a former note I pointed out, from the published works relative to this campaign, the low tone of mind, both in a moral and military view, of the literary enthusiasts who had kindled this war, and had urged on, or joined, the "Schleswig-Holstein" army. Their imputations of the most incredible, and gratuitous treachery against their own commanders, Generals Bonin, and Willisen, unfortunate commanders, but officers of the highest honour, science, and talent, make their authority on military subjects very questionable; and their previous occupations certainly could not qualify them to understand the movements of armies in the field. The great mass of pamphlets relative to this war, poured out by the German press, consists of lively, picturesque sketches of the personal adventures of the

writers, of the out-post life, of the bivouac fire, of the novel feelings, and incidents occurring to the educated civilian suddenly transformed into the soldier; and these are very amusing, and perhaps very true, but give little information of any value on the main point of my inquiries—the causes of the defeat of the German army at Idstedt. But a pamphlet entitled "Beiträge zur Beurtheilung des Deutsch-Danischen Krieges von einem General Stabs-officier, u. d. Hamburgh, 1851," that is, "Contributions towards forming a judgment of the German-Danish war, by an officer of the General Staff out of service," gives an impartial and sensible view of the military operations, the causes of failure and success, the merits and the demerits of both armies, and their commanders, and coming from an officer who had held a position in the "Schleswig-Holstein" army, from which he could understand what he treats of, it is deserving of the attention of political and of military readers. The Danish press has been more sober than the German. It has not been so prolific in adventures, sketches, and narratives of individuals, the ranks of the Danish army not being filled with authors, writers, or literary men, and the officers having more talent in performing than describing their duties in the field. The best of the Danish accounts I have met with is, "Det tredie Slesvigste Felttog fortalt af J. Hammerich. Kiobenhaven, 1851," "The third Sleswick campaign related by J. Hammerich."

The German writer, the officer of the general staff, begins with observing that, in 1848, the Danish army was weaker in numbers, and less acquainted with actual warfare, than any army of an independent

State in Europe; but that it had a naturally brave, rough population in Jutland, the north of Sleswick, Fyen, and the other islands, to recruit from, a good, although small nucleus of troops of all arms, to join its new levies to, and, above all, had a body of well instructed officers bred in its military school, and able to form soldiers in every branch of military service. It may be added, that in Denmark, and the duchies, it had long been the practice to bestow less time at the summer reviews, and manœuvres, than in other services, on parade-formations and movements, and much more on actual field duty. The troops were taught to bivouac in the field, construct huts, patrole, do out-post duty, and were, for several weeks every year, an army in a campaign — minus an enemy. To this kind of previous acquaintance with actual duty in the field, is to be ascribed the superior discipline and old soldier-like tact which distinguished the Danish troops although newly levied. The officers and under-officers were acquainted with their several duties and places, and to their superiority this writer ascribes the success of the Danish arms. Without officers there can be no army. Although the Danish army lost a great proportion of officers of all ranks, it had officers known to the men, in a course of long service, to replace them. He gives an instance, unexampled he says in modern warfare, of the discipline and confidence of the men in their officers, of the knowledge of their duty and of their men among the officers, and of the gallantry, tact, and military talent of the general commanding. At the battle of Idstedt, General Schleppegrell, commanding the left division of the army, and the Colonels Lassoe and Trepka, the commanding officers of the

battalions of which it consisted, were killed nearly at the same time in the street of the village of Overstolk, and a very large proportion of the officers of all ranks had fallen in the desperate struggle in this village, which had been taken and retaken alternately, and was an important point. The division was routed, dispersed, and flying in the utmost disorder. On this intelligence reaching the commander-in-chief, who was with the centre division then engaged with the enemy, he sent General de Meza to endeavour to rally this division, and to take the command of it. This officer was suffering from a severe surgical operation, and was unable to do duty, but, on this decisive day, he rode as a volunteer in the suite of the commander-in-chief. In less than two hours, this General de Meza, with only two officers and a small escort attending him, had rallied, reorganised, and reofficered this routed division, and was attacking and driving the enemy out of the village of Overstolk, which he finally carried and maintained. Such an unexampled occurrence in military history, observes the German staff officer, shows the excellent organisation of the Danish army, the men and officers understanding their duties, and understanding and knowing each other, imbued with mutual confidence and a true spirit of discipline, and all with a common object, and speaking a common language. The organisation of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army was very different. General Willisen himself, in his report upon the battle of Idstedt, ascribes his defeat to the want of experienced officers. The want, says this staff officer, and all the inferior writers concur in this opinion, was one of General Willisen's own creating. Germany is full of the most experienced

officers in Europe, but their services in any rank were rejected if they were anti-Prussian or democratic in principle, and, of course, all who embraced the cause of the new German "Vaterland" were so in various degrees. Officers even of known military experience and high reputation—a Major Müller of Dresden is particularly named—were refused permission to serve as under-officers, or even in the ranks, while lads from the parade of Potsdam or Berlin were at once appointed second lieutenants. No promotion of a private to the rank of officer from military merit took place in this army fighting for a common and somewhat democratic vision. It was an army of democratic volunteers, led and commanded by aristocratic officers and influences. A bureau was established at Altona for the reception of all, both officers and men, who came as volunteers; but every one supposed to be of democratic, that is anti-Prussian sentiments, was rejected by the officer appointed to this duty. The nomination of officers was entrusted to the Prince of Augustenburg Noer, and subservience to the views of Prussia directed all promotion. It is remarkable that the very man who began this war by the treacherous seizure of Rensburg, should be the instrument of its total defeat ascribed by the Generals themselves to the injudicious selection of officers without experience. To be Prussian was a sufficient claim for promotion; and while old officers from other services were in the ranks, and under-officers and privates, after three years' service in the field, remained without promotion, cadets from the military schools of Prussia were at once appointed officers over them. The great object of General Bonin, and of his successor General Willisen, had evidently been to

Prussianise this army, to introduce into it Prussian officers, Prussian exercise, Prussian discipline; and the secret object of the Prussian Government was, no doubt, to Prussianise it so effectually, through its officers, that it should be in reality a mere corps of the Prussian army, which might, at a future day, be marched off and replaced by Prussian troops, and the country held, de facto, in military occupation by Prussia. The indiscriminate military service of the Prussian system had never been introduced into Holstein and Sleswick, but there were regiments occasionally called out and exercised; and these, brought into the field by the new government, under the existing law, were the kernel of the insurgent army. The military exercise, the relations between officers and men, and various military usages in the interior economy of those regiments, were different from the Prussian. Some officers exercised their men in the old forms, while superior Prussian officers endeavoured to introduce the new. Hence arose misunderstanding, disputes, ill-blood between commanding officers, inferior officers, and the men. Soldiers and under-officers, who had been for three years in the field, could ill-brook the presumption of their slim-waisted Prussian lieutenants from the cadet school, attempting to teach them their exercise and duty. The introduction, almost immediately before the battle of Idstedt, of the formation and manœuvring in two ranks, instead of three-deep, to which the soldiers had been accustomed, produced great confusion, and had even a bad moral effect on men accustomed to know their comrades before, behind, and on either side, and to put a kind of confidence in the number around them. They were now brought

into the battle-field with new relations to each other, and with new comrades. In this army, also, there was no common understanding of what they were fighting for, of what their cause was. In the Danish army, the integrity of their country, their national independence, their king, made a simple intelligible cause. But in the "Schleswig-Holstein" army, the creation of a great united German empire was the cause only of the professors, students, artists, idlers, and literary enthusiasts of the south of Germany. The hope of promotion, good pay (the pay was one-third higher than in any other German service) love of excitement and warfare, and of good living among the wealthy peasantry, was the cause to the military adventurers and vagabonds who flocked from all quarters to the black, red, and yellow standard on the walls of Rensburg. The liberation of their sovereign from a party in Denmark which, they were assured by the stadtholders in repeated proclamations even after the battle of Idstedt, held him a prisoner in Copenhagen, was the cause of the honest, but somewhat stolid peasantry of Holstein and Sleswick, who were the main strength of the army; and a great majority of these were under arms by a conscription forcing them to serve, without regard to their political opinions and inclination. It shows how very little the cause of the literary class in Germany, or the annexation of Sleswick to Holstein, was the cause of the people; that the stupid lie invented by the Prince of Augustenburg Noer about the personal captivity of the king, and used by him to deceive the garrison of Rensburg, had to be kept up by the stadtholders to the very last, for the deception of the people. The peasantry could understand no other cause for calling

out their military service; and, at first, could not doubt the assurances of their former and present stadtholders, that the king was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. With the men in the ranks, the spell and confidence in the truth and honour of their leaders and officers was lost when this absurd fiction was detected, and in the course of their service it was soon detected, and was resented as an imposition and falsehood of the foreign civil and military officers who ruled their country. The staff of this ill-put-together army was composed of officers appointed without any regard to their experience or military qualifications — the ex-president of the Frankfort Parliament, for instance, Herr Von Gageven, was appointed major on the staff, without any previous military service — and it was very inferior to the staff of the Danish army, composed of picked officers bred in the military school to this service, acquainted with its duties and objects, and some of them familiar with every road, stream, wood, or other military feature of the country before them.

To the battle of Idstedt, 28,000 Danes marched on the 23rd of July, from Flendsburg, and Apenraade, against 32,000 Germans, who waited for them in their fortified position about eight miles north from their quarters in the town of Sleswick, and its neighbourhood.

After leaving the town of Sleswick, the country is no longer, like a slice of England, divided by hedges into small fields, and studded with villages, and single houses. It is an open, barren country of heaths, peat mosses, bogs, pools, meadows of coarse grass in some of the depressions of the surface, and woods on some of the elevations. The villages are

thinly scattered and single houses scarce. The main road from Sleswick to Flendsburg is good, the secondary and cross road sandy, and the country, although bare, open, and flat, is so intersected with ponds, bogs, and slow, or rather stagnant, ditchlike streams, or gulleys, the sources of the branch of the Eyder called the Treene, that if separate columns of troops could find their way on the footpaths leading through the peat mosses, they could not support each other, or find ground to deploy in. The position of the German army was deliberately chosen, fortified with field-works, and naturally so strong that it seemed inexpugnable. A long lake, called Langsö, extended in front of the position, from Wedelspang, the extreme right, to near Idstedt village, the centre of the army. A narrow strip of land with a stream through it, and with a small wood, called Gryde Skov on it, separates this lake from another smaller lake, called Idstedtsö, which covered the centre; and the strip of land, the village of Idstedt, and all the eminences commanding the roads by which an enemy could approach, were defended by batteries and field-works. At Wedelspang, the right was protected from being turned, by morasses, artificial inundations, field-works, and the naturally impracticable country. The left wing seemed the most exposed, but was covered by the Arnholtz lake; and a stream connecting the three lakes and forming one of the sources of the Treene, spread into an impassable tract of flat open morass full of bogs, pools, and deep gulleys connected, although without current, and all ending in the Treene; and this wing could only be approached through pathless bogs open to the view for many miles, or turned by a long circuitous march

to some point where these bog sources of the Treene unite in one channel, and could be passed by a bridge. A water line of defence, in fact, covered the whole position of the German army, and the only access across it was by the strip of land between Langsö and Idstedt lake, about 300 paces broad, or by the chaussé from Flendsburg to Sleswick, and between that road and Idstedt village, and these points were fortified and beset with artillery. The position was, in a certain sense, too strong. General Willisen came out of the fortress of Rendsburg, and crossed the Eyder, to attack, not to defend. There seems to be an essential difference between a good aggressive and a good defensive position. With a chain of lakes, or bogs, all around his army, he was like a giant shut up in a strong tower, who can defend his little door and window against a host of enemies, but cannot get out to devour them. His roads for an advance and attack were limited by this selection of a defensive position for an attacking army. Beyond the lake Langsö was a strong outpost with batteries, at a village called Overstolk, to which there were good roads both from Idstedt and from Wedelspang; and about the centre of the long narrow Langsö lake, a wooden bridge was thrown across it, by which troops could be sent to Overstolk by a temporary or column-road, and not above two English miles of distance. On the 23rd of July the Danish army was concentrated by forced marches at Oversö, on the high road from Flendsburg to Sleswick. The head-quarters were at Bilskov Kro, a little in the rear. General Willisen's head-quarters were at Falkenburg, a gentleman's house upon the same road, about four miles from Sleswick. A kro, or krog, is a little wayside

inn licensed for each village or parish, at which parcels or passengers for the neighbourhood are taken in, and the village, from which the kro receives its name, is often at a considerable distance from the road. The plan of operations was concerted and imparted to the Danish generals of divisions in this kro. As the men would have had a march of sixteen or twenty English miles from Flendsburg, in heavy marching order, before they could engage the enemy. it was determined to postpone the main attack to the 25th, and on the 24th merely to approach the enemy's position, drive in his outposts, and reconnoitre his arrangements. The skirmishes of the 24th, however, were battles. At Heligbeck bridge, over a small feeder of the Treene, at the spot where Harold Blaatand (blue tooth) the father of Swein, and grandfather of Canute the Great of England, was forced by the Emperor Otto to sue for peace, and receive baptism from Bishop Poppo; the inn, the bridge, and adjacent grove called Popholtz, were repeatedly taken and retaken, and the slaughter on both sides was considerable. This ground has been drenched with human blood in many a battle, now forgotten and unknown, between the German and the Dane—battles of the ages of stone, of bronze, of iron weapons, which antiquaries tell of in their museums—for over this barren, uninhabited moor, are scattered many grave mounds of warriors who have fallen in former times. The artificial mounds of earth from which the opposed generals, Krogh and Willisen, reconnoitred the vicissitudes of the fight, and took counsel with their staff officers around them, may possibly cover the bones of their own forefathers, who, in some former age, have fought in the same cause, German against

Dane, on the same battle-field. "I know," said General Schleppegrell, giving his opinion at a council of war, and who was killed next day at Overstolk, "I know that we have no Napoleon among us, but plant our cannon on the heights, charge bayonets, and the field is ours." General Schleppegrell was mistaken. There was a Napoleon among them; a commander who could combine the movement of his columns to an attack where it was least expected, could conceal his purpose by skilful manœuvres, throw a corps in the rear of the enemy, and then, by a daring attack on his centre, gain a victory which Napoleon might have been proud of. On the 24th, the reserve cavalry and a corps of the Danish army had been sent westward, round the morasses and springs of the sources of the Treene, to march down the right bank of that river to Solbro bridge, from which there were roads that led to the rear of the left and centre of the enemy's position at Idstedt. This important point at Solbro had been unaccountably neglected by General Willisen's staff, and had been left with only eighty jägers to defend it. They maintained their post with great bravery, until General Baudisen, a deserter with the Prince of Augustenburg Noer from his sovereign's army, came up with troops and artillery to relieve them, and to reconnoitre the strength of the Danes. Colonel Schepelern, who commanded the Danish corps, had been ordered not to cross the Treene until next day. He concealed his troops, en echellon, behind the banks of the Treene, and showed only such a small force as might be expected to be out reconnoitring. General Baudisen returned to report to General Willisen that the enemy were in no force in this quarter. Thus, in the case of this officer,

as in that of the Prince of Augustenburg Noer, the very men who had betrayed their trusts, became the means by which the object of their treachery was defeated.

The main body of the two armies had not been engaged; and it was known to all that next day, the 25th of July, a great battle would be fought by 60,000 men with 176 cannon, the force of men and artillery nearly equally divided between the two generals. But how different the situation of those generals! The one could afford to lose a battle. He had forty millions of people, it was supposed, to replenish his ranks; he had artillery, arms, officers at discretion, from the arsenals and schools of Prussia. The other had every eighth man of the Danish population of an age and strength to serve, already under arms, and had a population only of a million and a half to fall back upon and recruit from. He could not afford to lose a man. The one was renowned throughout Europe for his able writings on the science of war, the other was known only in the very small military circle of Denmark as one of the many excellent officers formed in her service; or as one author quaintly expresses the difference, the one could wield the warrior's pen, the other could point the pen with his sword.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the Danish troops of the centre marched from their bivouac at Heligbeck, on the high road from Flensburg to Sleswick, and at daybreak attacked the enemy's centre at Idstedt. General Schleppegrell, with the left division of the army, marched at the same hour from Hostrup and Havetoft, on the road nearly parallel to the other, from Flensburg and

Apenraade to Eckernfiorde, to attack Overstolk village, from which he could either direct his march upon Wedelspang, or upon the pass between Längsö lake and Idstedt lake, according to the success of the direct attack on Idstedt village, at which General Willisen had concentrated all his strength. The right division of the Danish army was partly engaged with the enemy's left at Arnholtz lake and the neighbouring morass, partly forcing a passage at Solbro bridge, over the Treene, by which it could come in rear of the enemy. At these points the battle was fought with the greatest bravery, and with immense slaughter on both sides. Overstolk was carried by the Danes, was retaken by the Germans, was again attacked, and carried by the Danish troops; and it was on this occasion that General Schleppegrell, and the two colonels next in command, were killed in the street of the village, and the division routed and put to flight; and the remarkable instance of discipline and military talent occurred, of the fugitives being rallied, reorganised, reofficered, and again led against the enemy by General de Meza, within an hour and a half of their previous defeat. The vivacity of the combat here, and the reappearance of the dispersed troops, which were probably taken for fresh reinforcements, seem to have led General Willisen into the mistake that, after all, the attack on his centre, at Idstedt, was but a feint, and that the true point of General Krogh's attack must be his right, at Wedelspang. Some of General Willisen's staff officers, at least, appear to have acted on this impression, for artillery and troops were sent from the centre to the right, at Wedelspang, and nobody knew who gave the order. Battalions were

removed from important points, and nobody knew why, or by whom. Every officer on General Willisen's staff appears to have acted as the Commander-in-chief by his own appointment. The "unexplained circumstances," and the "want of officers of experience," given by General Willisen, in his Report, as the causes of his defeat, refer to these unauthorised movements, ordered without his knowledge. He had filled his numerous staff establishment with scions of Prussian families, young officers fresh from the military academy, full of presumption, and neglecting so entirely the most essential duties, that, according to the account of the soldiers of the insurgent army, ammunition even was not brought up, and supplied to them when they had expended what they carried into the field. The staff officers were laughed at by the common soldiers, who had a nickname for them; and in the pamphlet of the General Staff Officer out of service, the want of experienced officers, both in the regiments and on the staff, is given as the true cause of General Willisen's defeat; and the want, it is added, was altogether of his own creating. In contrast with this want of head, or plan, in the heat of battle, was the cool order of General Krogh, when Overstolk was finally carried by General de Meza, that the troops there should sustain the battle but not advance. He wished to give time to the detached corps of his right division to get into the rear of the enemy's centre, and by slackening the fire of his musquetry and fieldpieces against Idstedt, and manœuvring some of his troops towards Overstolk, he kept up the delusion of General Willisen and his staff, that Wedelspang was the real point he intended to attack; and that he was withdrawing his troops and

artillery from before Idstedt, to attack Wedelspang with all his force.

A fog, with drizzling rain, had hung over the country all the morning, and prevented any view of the whole field, or of the operations and movements at any distance; and General Willisen's staff officers, not understanding the dialect of the peasantry, or of their own men, could bring him little intelligence of the real movements of his opponents. At last the artillery of the detached corps of the right division of the Danish army was heard in the rear of the German position. The bridge at Solbro had been carried, the corps had crossed the river, and the sounds told both armies that it was advancing on the road from Solbro to Sleswick. The moment had now arrived when the combined movements of the Danish army supported each other in a common attack on the enemy's centre. The weather had cleared up. The fire against the redoubts at Idstedt village was renewed, and General Krogh ordered a general storm with the bayonet. The division at Overstolk, instead of taking the road to Wedelspang, as the enemy expected, rushed into, and carried at the point of the bayonet, the batteries in the narrow fortified neck of land between Langsö lake and Idstedt lake, and were thus on the flank and in the rear of the centre and strength of the German army at Idstedt village and the field-works erected there. But these were already carried by the irresistible bayonet charge of the Danish centre. The battle was lost, and the "Schleswig-Holstein" army was panic-struck in proportion to its arrogance and contempt of the enemy before the battle. The natural reaction of blind self-confidence and enthusiasm is blind terror. It was a flight, not a retreat,

from Idstedt to the Eyder, and into the fortress of Rendsburg. Important positions and towns, such as Eckernfiorde, or even the part of Sleswick town called Fredericksburg, which might have been maintained by a retreating army. well officered, were abandoned by a flying army, with officers who did not know their men, could not speak their language, had not their confidence, and could neither rally them nor guide them. The cry, "the Danes are coming," scattered the groups into single fugitives, running across the fields. The loss of the insurgent army was never officially made known. The loss of the Danish army is stated at 3800 killed and wounded; and probably 4000 men may be near to the real loss on each side. Of every eight men who saw the sun rising that morning over Idstedt moor, one never saw him set.

A Danish writer on this battle observes, that the Danish soldier is of a different temperament from the German. He is not given to enthusiasm. Such bulletins, and addresses to his soldiers, as General Willisen, in imitation of Napoleon, issued on all occasions, in a bombastic style, like that of the heroes of Ossian, or of the farce of Tom Thumb the Great, and which raised the German to a temporary enthusiasm bordering on insanity, would have been received with a smile of contempt by the cold, sedate Dane, who has no tendency in his character to such ecstacies or such reactions. A resolute, steady, dauntless character, the same in defeat as in success, distinguishes, this writer observes, the Danish soldier; and, like all sedate characters, he is very formidable when roused, and very enduring in action. The vapouring rhapsodies of General Willisen, and the short plain

reports of General Krogh, he considers very illustrative of the armies they commanded.

General Willisen calls the battle of Idstedt the hardest-fought battle of the age. He might have added, it was the most scientific. His own position was chosen with the greatest judgment, and fortified with the greatest skill, in the opinion of military men. The witlings of the German press, who now turn against the general they adored, and do not hesitate to accuse him of treachery, say that the position was so strong that it required the highest military science to be beaten in it. The science of the Danish commander-in-chief, and of General Flendsborg, the chief of his staff, speaks for itself. He had a fixed plan, upon which every movement of his army on the 24th and 25th was based; and by noon on the 25th of July, his combinations had brought his left and centre divisions into co-operation in a joint attack upon a point where it was least expected—the centre of the German army,—had pierced and turned it, and had placed a corps in its rear, which converted its retreat into a disorderly, rapid flight. It would be an instructive school to the young English officer, to study these movements here on the ground. The country is so clear, open, and unaltered, that no great battle-field offers such advantages to the military student. The field of battle extends in length, from Wedelspang to Solbro bridge, about twelve English miles; and in depth, from Heligbeck to the pass of Idstedt, about three: and within this area all the movements of a great battle may be studied. It is to call the attention of our military teachers and students to this scene of great and scientific operations in their profession, that I

have been so diffuse in this account of it, having no very sanguine expectation that the Peace Congress, at its next meeting in Exeter Hall, will be able to report the entire extinction in the human breast of all bellicose propensities, and having great expectations that the study of the gallant defence and bearing of the loyal, energetic, little Danish nation, during three campaigns against the most unprincipled invasion, and while abandoned, most dishonourably, by her pledged ally England, will suggest many reflections on our domestic and foreign policy.

CHAP. XII.

CONSTERNATION OF THE NEWSPAPERS. — THE STADTHOLDERS OF "SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN" AND THE AGITATORS. — THE GERMAN PEOPLE WOULD NOT MOVE. — NO VOLUNTEERS. — CONSCRIPTION AND A BOUNTY OF TEN DOLLARS. — THE ATTACK ON FREDERICKSTADT. — THE DEFENCE. — COLONEL HELGESEN THE OTTER-HUNTER COMMANDANT. — UNWARRANTABLE SLAUGHTER OF THE INHABITANTS BY VON GAGEREN, THE EX-PRESIDENT OF THE FRANKFORT PARLIAMENT. — DEFEAT OF THE "SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN" ARMY AT FREDERICKSTADT. — ITS DISSOLUTION. — MILD CONDUCT OF THE DANISH GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE INSURGENTS. — CONTRAST TO THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT. — THE PEOPLE MISLED BY A FALSE EDUCATION. — DESIGNS OF PRUSSIA IN INSTIGATING THE INSURRECTION. — POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF AUSTRIA. — MARCH OF AUSTRIAN TROOPS TO THE NORTH OF GERMANY. — THEIR SUPERIORITY IN APPEARANCE OVER THE LANDWEHR. — POLITICAL AND MORAL EFFECTS.

THE German press was in hysterics. General Willisen issued his Huncomunco bulletins and addresses to his discomfited soldiers. The Stadtholders reiterated in their manifestoes the absurd fiction, laughed at or received with scorn now by the people, of their sovereign being a captive, and calling on them to join the army on this pretext, which the very boys in the streets of Rendsburg knew to be false, and scoffed at. The newspapers in every corner of Germany teemed with exhortations to the gallant youth of the forty millions to flock to the black, red, and yellow flag waving at Rendsburg, and redeem its honour. The deception had run its course; the enthusiasm had evaporated; the German people had become aware that they had been the dupes of a class who had worked them up, through the press, to a blind enthusiasm for a false object nowise connected with their

well being or good government; and the call was not responded to. The first crop of dupes had been mowed down in the three years of bloody war in Sleswick; and there were none to replace them. The black, red, and yellow flag waved in vain to the universal Teutonic youth. The flame kindled in 1848 by the newspapers, had expired like the flame of a newspaper set on fire at one corner, and going out of itself when it reaches the other from the want of substantial fuel. Out of the forty millions of people eager, according to the German press, to shed their blood in the cause of their common "Vater land," about 700 volunteers, says Ufo Horn, himself one of them, came to Rendsburg to vindicate her flag. A stringent conscription, in Holstein, of all men able to take the field, and a bounty of ten dollars to each recruit from Germany to aid his enthusiasm for the "Vaterland," brought together, in September, a sufficient number to replace the men lost at Idstedt; and the insurgent army began, on the 29th of September, their celebrated attack on Frederickstadt.

The town of Frederickstadt is not fortified; but it is surrounded by ditches, or rather canals, being situated at the junction of the Treene and the Eyder, both navigable and with canals between them; and it can only be approached upon the dykes raised above the level of the water, and on which the roads are laid. The garrison consisted of seven weak companies of infantry, increased to nine when the siege began; and the artillery consisted of seven light field pieces. The commandant was Colonel Helgesen, an old retired officer of the Danish army, a Norwegian by birth, who had lived many years in the place, and was called the otter-hunter, from his fondness for

that sport. It made him acquainted with every pool and bank in all the country round; and he had the eye and the observation of the old soldier about him in his daily occupation and amusement. The attacking corps, under the command of a very distinguished, dashing officer, Colonel von der Tann, consisted of two brigades of infantry, some cavalry, and thirty-two pieces of ordnance, and mortars of the heaviest used in sieges; and twelve of these were afloat in gun boats on the Eyder. The details of this siege furnish many curious traits of the steady, enduring, imperturbable character of the Danish soldier. When the besieged found that their light field-pieces could not reach the enemy, while shot and shells were pouring in upon the town, they quietly ceased firing altogether, in order to save their ammunition, and applied themselves to repairing in the night, the damage done to their works during the day. Their works consisted in mounds of earth, and ditches across the dykes by which the enemy must advance; and the earth being wet and tenacious, the balls stuck in it, and did less damage than might have been expected from twenty pieces of heavy artillery battering in breach. Every morning the besiegers found the breaches repaired; and they had to begin anew to fire upon the breast-works they had been battering all the day before. On one occasion they had made a lodgment of men in one of the breast-works, and had scooped out a hole through it. The sentry on duty behind the breast-work stuffed his knapsack into the opening, called the guard; and with their knapsacks they made a barricade, supported by their backs against the breach, until troops came to repel the assailants, and to repair the breast-work.

In the night between the 29th and 30th of September, the commandant allowed the municipality of the town to send a letter to the commander of the besieging forces, entreating him to spare the quarters of the town nowise connected with its defences, and on which the firing had been indiscriminately directed. "More citizens than soldiers," said the letter, "had been killed by the shot; and they would ask the General if it was allowable, in civilised warfare, to lay waste a peaceable city without any military result." The application was returned with the answer "Refused." No circumstance during the war turned the feeling of the people so much against the German party as this unnecessary bombardment and burning of Frederickstadt, a town known to be devoted to their cause. The people could understand that Colonel von der Tann, a brave and reckless free-corps chief, successful, enterprising, and regardless of any considerations not professional, might refuse this application to spare the streets and houses not connected with the defence of the town; but Henry von Gageren, the ex-president of the Frankfort Parliament, was riding by his side as chief of his staff. He was the officer responsible for the bombardment being directed suitably for the success of the expedition, and not wasted on the useless destruction of the inhabitants and their dwellings. He is responsible for the outrage on the established law of humanity in warfare between civilised nations. One hundred and thirty-seven houses were destroyed by the shot; and the greater part of the town was reduced to ashes by the fire from artillery directed, or which ought, by his official duty, to have been directed, by him, the chief of the staff, as to the points upon which it was to

play. When men are taken out of the their proper places, and raised, by a revolution, to stations beyond their abilities or experience, and made presidents or military officers, they either play the fool or the oppressor. The warfare adopted by the ex-president staff-chief threw the inhabitants entirely on the side of the Danish soldiery; and they helped much, by the food and refreshments they supplied, to sustain the siege. The besiegers grew impatient. They supposed, from the Danes not returning their fire, that they were going to capitulate; but the old Dannebrog, as the Danes call their flag, continued flying. Two desperate attempts were made to carry the place by storm. The little garrison reserved their fire, until the advancing columns of the enemy were thronged upon the dykes and close to their breastworks, and then opened, with their little field-pieces, upon the mass with murderous effect. Both attempts were repulsed. The besieging force lost about 1200 men in this unsuccessful attempt with six battalions, and thirty-two pieces of heavy ordnance, to take a little country-town defended by a few companies of infantry, being detachments from three weak battalions, and by some small field-pieces—and their brave old commandant the otter-hunter. The siege was raised on the 5th of October; and the "Schleswig-Holstein" troops returned, beaten and disorganised, to Rendsburg. A continued bombardment, without intermission for 144 hours, had produced no result but the destruction of a town which the "Schleswig-Holstein" party called their own, and the dispersion of its wretched inhabitants to beg, at the beginning of winter, for shelter and food, through the Ditmarsh

villages, cursing the instigators and agents of this unnecessary war.

The difference between the addresses of General Krogh and General Willisen to their troops, on this occasion, is very characteristic, and almost comic. General Krogh thanks the soldiers, and says — "the endurance, contempt of death, and true military spirit they had exhibited in the hottest moments of battle, would stand as a bright example, in future ages, to the Danish army." General Willisen says — "the days before Frederickstadt have not been fortunate; but they are glorious days for the army. The sixth battalion (that which suffered the most) may with pride inscribe Frederickstadt on its banners. Again we tried to tempt the enemy out to combat in the open field. It did not succeed. We must have patience"— &c. &c.

The "Schleswig-Holstein" cause was morally dissolved by the battle of Idstedt and the unnecessary bombardment of Frederickstadt, which could not be called a siege, for the town was not invested, and could not be called a military operation, for its success could have had no military results. It was simply a slaughter of friends and foes committed by the stadtholderate, in the hope of again rousing the German people — an unprincipled and desperate effort undertaken after the dissolution of their own power, and of the forces who had so bravely served them, and whom they were now sacrificing, was resolved on by the European Powers, and was inevitable. The cause expired as it was born, in the hands of interested leaders, or exhausted enthusiasts wearied of agitation, and was allowed to expire

decently wrapped up in its black, red, and yellow robes.

No prosecutions of individuals, no military courts or military punishments hastened or retarded the dissolution of this insurrection in Sleswick or Holstein. The troops were disbanded; the Prussians, who composed the principal part of them, were sent home by the railroads; others engaged with the Brazil government, and in March, just three years after the traitorous seizure of the fortress of Rendsburg by the Prince of Augustenburg Noer, the frontier of Denmark was again on the Eyder. The leaders and instigators of the insurrection, Beseler von Gageren Dahlmann, and the military officers who had deserted to the "Schleswig-Holstein" army, and the brothers of the Augustenburg family, withdrew into private life, from which their false ambition had drawn them. The German functionaries, clergy, schoolmasters, and local judges, who had been placed in parishes in which Danish only was understood by the bulk of the population, in the insane attempt of the Duke of Augustenburg to suppress the Danish language, were replaced by men who could speak the language of the people. Where parishes used the two languages, the ministers preach in the morning in the one and in the evening in the other.

It is to the honour of the Danish king and government, and it is a striking example of the different progress of civilisation in the north and in the south of Europe, that during the three years this insurrection lasted, and now that it is quelled, not one individual has been tried and put to death, or in any way punished for a civil or political offence by sentence of a court-martial, or of any other than the ordinary

courts of justice; not one life has been taken but in the field of battle, and by the chance of war. Banishment for life has been the highest punishment inflicted upon traitors who, as military officers deserting their colours, breaking their oaths of fidelity, and giving up important trusts to the enemy, would have been tried by court-martial and shot in any other country. Civil functionaries who had abused their official power, and turned it against the government, were simply dismissed. This humane and wise procedure of Frederick VII. towards his subdued provinces, stands in remarkable contrast to that of the Austrian, Prussian, Neapolitan, and other sovereigns of the south, towards their insurgent subjects—in remarkable contrast, also, to that of the ephemeral president of the constitutional government of France. Here are no state prosecutions, no condemnations to death or to chains, and slavery for life, or for ten or twenty years, for words or deeds in the late insurrection. This government took the true and just view, that the people had been misled by a class deluding, and agitating, all the classes educated by them, with false speculations and theories of social policy, and seeking their own aggrandisement as the ruling state power; but that the governments on the Continent were themselves to blame in creating this exclusive educational class, and giving it the social power it now possesses of educating and imbuing the people with the most visionary and impracticable schemes, such as socialism, communism, the "new Germany," and of raising the public mind, of which this class has the training in its hands, to a zeal and fanaticism bordering upon insanity, for the realisation of its own schemes. It is not by the punishment of

individuals who, however foolish or guilty in their acts or writings, are in general sincere, and therefore considered martyrs, but by a change, or rather by the total suppression of the present arrangements of the Continental governments for the education of the people, that the social evil is to be corrected. It is by setting education free, by allowing freedom of opinion, a free trade in tuition, a free press, free discussion, that the yoke of the educational class which now, in every country but England and America, governs the governments, as the ecclesiastical class did in the middle ages, is to be effectually broken. The whole system of ministers of state and boards for national education, accademical examinations, and degrees for public offices, and all tuition, and the patronage of, or access to, all professional employment centralised in universities, imbued with one set of political opinions opposed to common sense and good government, will have to be abolished. Where education and the press are free, the follies or theories of one set or school of political philosophers will be, as in England, neutralised, or combated and driven away by those of another. Where education is placed exclusively, as it is on the Continent, in the hands of a class bred in, and imbued with, the same political views, that class forms the public mind, and, in reality, governs the country. The ostensible government is but a machine in its hands, directed by its pupils. The educational class is succeeding to the influence and power held by the ecclesiastical class in the middle ages; and, if we read rightly the history of this half century, and especially of the three years of 1848-49-50, we must come to the conclusion that the educational man, the professor, or author, because

he is educated, is no more fit than the ecclesiastical man, the bishop, or the monk, because he is pious, to direct the affairs of society, and to govern his fellow men wisely. We may draw another conclusion, that there is an evil in society worse than ignorance, viz., an over-education, or a false education of the people.

It strikes the English traveller in all parts of the Continent as very ridiculous to hear of a seat of government, departments of finance, law, education, military and civil affairs, and state functionaries, with all the paraphernalia of a great kingdom, applied to such petty districts as Sleswick and Holstein, neither of them exceeding in extent, population, property, or social importance, one of our larger counties in England or Scotland (in population and property Sleswick and Holstein together do not equal the county of Surrey), which are governed tolerably well, as times go, without all this machinery of functionarism. It is precisely this unnecessary machinery in Germany, making every petty district a distinct government, or if belonging to a greater state, a distinct social body, with its prefet, or amtman, sub-officials, civil and criminal courts, departments of government and functionary staff for itself separate from its neighbours, and only communicating with the central government, of which it is a miniature copy in all its establishments, that has raised and fed the false education, the ambition for political power in small men and small places, such, for instance, as Sleswick, Holstein, and their political leaders, the dependence on office for a living among the youth, the overweening pretensions of functionaries, professors, lawyers, and literary men, over industry, trade, and that practical common sense which can only be acquired in larger

fields of social action than a German university or a small county town, and which have been the elements of the disorder that broke out in 1848 in the public mind in Germany, and was only extinguished for a time in the blood and slaughter at Idstedt and Frederickstadt. These distinct little governments will always keep Germany in a disjointed social state, held together only by military power, or by civil power acting on a military principle, even if natural circumstances allowed of such an amalgamation into one nation, as was dreamt of in 1848. Lord North, with equal wit and wisdom, called a threatened insurrection in the Isle of Man "a storm in a chamber-pot." All Germany is composed of petty isles of Man, centralised, perhaps, in a common state, and in the bureaux of a general government in the capital of the state, but not connected with each other, and without common social interests. This is the social organization of all Germany. It is, in reality, the old feudal system in a new form, and under new names, but essentially the same as regards the civil liberty and social condition of the mass of the German population. Instead of serfage, read landwehr service; instead of the feudal baron and his sub-vassals ruling over the serfs, read the amtman or prefet, and his functionaries; instead of holy mother church wielding all power over all classes, read the German universities and the press; instead of priests, read schoolmasters; instead of popes, read professors; instead of papal bull, read newspaper,—and you have the history of Germany in the nineteenth century and in the fourteenth—the same social organization, a change of names and means, but the same social state of the mass of the population, the same military

servitude, the same interference with freedom of action in private life, the same authority of a class, by the same educational means, over the public mind, over sovereigns, ministers, and people.

The design of Prussia in aiding the rebellion of the Duke of Augustenburg, and in furnishing men, money, arms, artillery, and officers to the insurgent army, and even after concluding a peace with Denmark in still carrying on the war, in the name of the Frankfort parliament, with Prussian generals, officers, artillery, and soldiers, was undoubtedly to obtain, either by conquest, cession, or tacit agreement with the duke, the virtual sovereignty of the duchies of Holstein and Sleswick. Holstein alone, without Sleswick, would have been an incomplete acquisition, because Sleswick territory commands the entrance of the bay of Kiel, the only harbour for a naval station on the German side of the Baltic. The possession of this bay would make Prussia the mistress of the Baltic. The possession of Holstein, also, would give Prussia, as a strong adjacent power, the command of the nominally independent state of Hamburgh, and of the Elbe, and of the means, resources, and trade of the north of Europe, and without any violent infringement of the forms of the independent existence of the imperial free city, or any visible aggression calling for the interference of the other Germanic powers. The cabinets of St. Petersburgh and Vienna appear to have seen the designs and detected the intrigues of Prussia; and while our government, paralysed by a secret Prussian influence in the cabinet, did nothing but negotiate for three years, Russia, as a party to the treaty of 1727, by which the duchy of Sleswick was guaranteed by

England, France, and Russia to the Danish crown, made a demonstration of her readiness to support her honour and guarantee by sending a squadron to the Sleswick side of the bay of Kiel immediately before the battle of Idstedt. That battle decided the question in favour of Denmark, without the aid of Russia or the negotiation of her faithless ally, England, equally, or even more bound than Russia, as a principal in the treaty of 1727, to defend the duchy of Sleswick against all attempts to sever it from the Danish kingdom. Austria counteracted the secret designs of the Prussian cabinet by one of the boldest political movements of our times. The defeat of the "Schleswig-Holstein" army at the battle of Idstedt, and again, three months afterwards, in its last and desperate effort, at Frederickstadt, by the weakest, and, as all men supposed, the least military of all the weaker European powers, took people by surprise. It was not merely unexpected, it was incomprehensible. It was the defeat, not merely of a military force, but of a military system, — of that Prussian landwehr military system which all the smaller German powers had adopted as the model and school of modern armies. Prussian generals, staff officers, and regimental officers in every rank, commanded; Prussian soldiers, on special leave from their landwehr regiments, filled the ranks; the clothing, the arms, both musketry and artillery, came from the Prussian arsenals; the military organisation, exercise, and discipline, from the Prussian military schools and parade-grounds; — and the moral effect on the public mind throughout the north of Germany, of the signal defeat and dispersion of such a force by a Danish army of no superiority of numbers, no military

reputation, no arrogant previous boasting, but going into the field in all simplicity of heart, and outmanœuvring, outmarching, charging, bayoneting, and entirely routing this army of Prussian or Prussianised troops, could not be measured by the mere loss of a battle. It was the utter loss of confidence in the military efficiency of the Prussian landwehr system, and of their own military officers and men. People felt as if there was no true and effective military force in the north of Germany after this defeat, —none that could withstand a regular army, since the *élite* of their landwehr and regular officers, men, and military means were, after a three years' struggle, entirely discomfited by the petty Danish power. Austria seized the moments of despondency and want of self-confidence in their own military resources, which Prussia and all the minor German powers laboured under, at this unexpected defeat of their most scientific generals, ablest officers, and selected men, and marched a body of twelve thousand regular troops through the astonished states of northern Germany, and occupied Hamburgh, Lubeck, Rendsburg, and all Holstein, before they had recovered their breath. It is the remark of Tacitus, that the eye is overcome the first in battle or danger; and the experience and practice of all men, and all nations, prove its truth. The military in all countries and stages of civilisation, from the American warrior, with his red and white striped face, to the sentry at the Horse Guards, in London, are dressed to impose on the eye, individually or in mass. In the modern equipment of soldiery by the Prussian and other German governments, this principle, which appears to be founded in human nature, has perhaps

been too much overlooked; as in the days of Frederick the Great, uniforms, uniformity, and appearance had been too much attended to. The appearance of the modern Prussian soldier is certainly not very imposing. The blue frock-coat does not sufficiently distinguish the soldier from the civilian; and, in spite of reason, dress has an important influence on the spirit, character, and habits of a military body. The best dressed regiments will generally be found the best disciplined, the most daring, the most confident in themselves, the most imbued with zeal for the honour of their corps. The appearance of these regular, well-disciplined, well-dressed Austrian soldiers in the landwehr countries of the north of Germany was not calculated to restore confidence to the public or the goverments in their own military power or system. To the eye, at least, the landwehr troops, composed of soldiers not arrived at manhood, and of all sizes, not drilled in, by years of service, to ease and precision in every movement, appeared very inferior to the Austrian regiments. The landwehr service, including all men under the age of twenty-three, and men of all classes, those bred to sedentary in-door employments as well as those inured to toil, includes a great proportion of pale, thin, emaciated, thread-paper lads of eighteen or twenty, who have not the physical development necessary for the soldier; and if they have the stature and strength of limb, they have not the habitude of enduring fatigue, exposure, and discomfort. The picturesque Roman helmet of the Prussian infantry surmounts too often the shabby little features of the apprentice to another more sedentary trade; and his looks and gestures betray the civilian — often the particular trade of the

civilian — under the garb of the soldier. The blue frock-coat, like that worn by the firemen of our insurance offices, is seldom made to fit the individual, and covers the dirty waistcoat, or the no-waistcoat, and, reaching half-way to the knee, hides the limbs and figure of the well-made and strong, and brings their personal appearance down to an equality with the ill-made and feeble. It covers the defects of shape in the wide-hipped, pot-bellied, crooked-thighed individual, and admits of his standing in the ranks with the soldier-shaped for military service; but it only covers—it does not amend—the natural defects of the man's body for effective duty as a soldier: it covers, also, dirt and neglect in all that is hid under the frock-coat. In remarkable contrast to the Prussian landwehr or regular troops, the Austrian soldiers who came to the north of Germany are remarkably athletic, broad-chested, strong-limbed men, of from five-and-twenty to forty years of age: each man would, in size and limb, make two of the landwehr youths; and their white clean uniforms, made to fit, and to set off the person of the individual, the cleanliness, order, and military appearance of the men, and all their appointments, made a strong impression on the public mind. It is possible that the Austrian government sent picked regiments on purpose to make this impression in the north of Germany of the superiority of the military means of Austria. It is possible, too, that the small-sized, intelligent landwehr troops may, in the field, be as active, brave, and enduring soldiers as these stouter and more exercised soldiers of Austria. But it cannot be denied that the impression made by those splendid war animals of the Slavonic breed, and their

military appearance and habits, was not that of confidence in the landwehr system. People who, for a generation, had seen no other soldiers than lads taken from their trades to be drilled for two or three years in a regiment, and then thrown back into civil life, and only called out for a few weeks yearly, were astonished at regular troops of full-grown men, who lived under arms, and were entirely military, without any communion or sympathies with civil life or its influences, walking into their land, and occupying the commanding military positions in it.

The occupation of Hamburgh, Altona, the fortress of Rendsburg, and all Holstein, by these Austrian troops, is looked on with suppressed rage, no doubt, by Prussia, for it has snatched the prey from her claws, and is regarded with a jealous eye by Denmark: but, in reality, it places a strong power, which has nothing to covet from Denmark, between the Danish dominions and a dangerous neighbour, Prussia, or Germany under Prussian influence. The Austrian Emperor, under the false views given by a cabinet led by the same influences as the "Young Germany," of the importance of the German element in the duchy of Sleswick, which does not amount to one-third of its small population and property, may for a time insist on the amalgamation of Sleswick with Holstein; but truth and clearer views will always get the better of false representations. It is evident that, in the occupation of the fortress of Rendsburg, all the representations of the German press, that the works belonged entirely to Germany, and ought to be occupied by German troops, were of no avail to induce Austria to overstep what her military commanders represented to be Danish. The fortress is

on German ground, and that is occupied by Austrian troops; but the crown-work is on the Danish side of the Eyder; and although it commands, it is said, the fortress, it is left to the occupation of the Danes. It is probably from mere misrepresentation of the real state of the question that the same non-interference in the civil as in the military rights of the Danish crown on the north side of the Eyder has not been followed by Austria. It would be an advantage to Denmark if Rendsburg were declared a frontier fortress of the German empire, and as such held by a mixed or an Austrian garrison. Denmark has but a life-interest in the duchy of Holstein, — the life-interest of his present Majesty. The duchy, on his demise, falls either entire into the Augustenburg branch, or falls to be divided, according to certain ancient rights and boundaries, among the three branches, the Oldenburg, Augustenburg, and Glucksburg, of the one original stem, the Sonderburg family, now represented by the King of Denmark. This is a question on which lawyers of great eminence are divided in opinion. The Oldenburg branch, now represented by the Emperor of Russia, would be entitled, it is said, in the event of a division of the heritage, to that part of Holstein which includes Kiel. In either case, Denmark would be exposed to troublesome and dangerous neighbours, if they are not controlled by a strong neutral power in the fortress of Rendsburg.

It is not probable that Hamburgh will ever be abandoned by Austrian troops while the Emperor of Austria is head of the German empire. It would, at least, be a false step in tactics and in politics. Hamburgh, with her old fortifications demolished, and

turned into pleasure-grounds for her inhabitants, is still, by her natural position, between the Elbe on one side, and an extensive lake, the Alster, on the other, the strongest and most defensible city in the north of Europe, and, politically, the most important. As a military post, in the hands of Austria, the city of Hamburgh, occupied by a strong garrison of all arms, artillery, cavalry, and infantry, as at present, is an effective bridle on the unreliable policy of Prussia. The Prussian Zoll-Verein may enact tariffs at its meetings, in opposition to the real or supposed interests of the southern states of Germany, and the Austrian Zoll-Verein; but the head of the German empire, in the exercise of his acknowledged legitimate rights, has taken possession of the door through which the commercial and manufacturing industry of a great portion of the north of Germany must go in and out. Hamburgh is the sea-port of Prussia, Silesia, and Saxony, is the centre of trade and money transactions in the north of Europe, and is the point from which all military intervention and political weight of a German emperor in the affairs of Northern Europe, and all control over the powerful members of his empire in the north of Germany, must be exercised to be effective. The kingdoms of Prussia and Hanover, the duchies of Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and all the minor governments, and the Prussian Zoll-Verein, with all the states it embraces, are held in check, and stand in presence of their master, as long as a military force of twelve thousand troops of the empire occupy Hamburgh. If it be a political necessity that the German empire should be no longer a nominal power, but should be revived in strength and efficiency at home and abroad, the permanent

occupation of Hamburgh by the head of the empire, whether the head be a king of Prussia, a Frankfort parliament, or an emperor of Austria, cannot be objected to on any sound principle. The head of an effective imperial authority must occupy the commanding points within as well as on the frontier of the empire, — must be able to command from within as well as to defend from without. This commanding point, for the north of the German empire, is Hamburgh. It is very unlikely that Austria will evacuate Hamburgh, now that, by a political *coup-de-main*, she has legitimately occupied it. It would be throwing half the empire into the lap of a rival, and giving a real political existence, independent of the head of the German empire, to the Prussian Zoll-Verein. Austria has not to accuse herself of political blunders from excess of generosity; and it would be wonderful if this were to be the first.

CHAP. XIII.

COUNTRY BETWEEN SLESWICK AND FLENDSBURG. — NO FIR OR PINE TREES ON ONE SIDE OF THE BALTIC. — ALL FIR TREES ON THE OTHER. — NO EBB AND FLOOD IN THE BALTIC, BUT GREAT LOCAL DIFFERENCES OF LEVEL OF THE WATER. — CANUTE THE GREAT PROBABLY WANTED TO SEE THE FLOOD-TIDE COVERING OUR SHORES; NOT TO GIVE A REBUKE TO HIS COURTIERS WHEN HE HAD HIS CHAIR PLACED BELOW HIGH-WATER MARK. — CONSIDERABLE TRADE OF FLENDSBURG. — COMMERCIAL TRAVELLERS AT THE INN. — PEOPLE SPEAK PLATT-DEUTSCH OR DANISH WITHOUT PREFERENCE. — INCLINED STRONGLY TO DENMARK. — THE CHURCHYARD OF FLENDSBURG. — A GLASGOW STEAM-BOAT. — BENEFIT OF STEAM COMMUNICATION TO DENMARK. — POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DENMARK. — FREE TRADE IN CORN NECESSARY THERE TO THE AGRICULTURAL INTEREST. — EXCESS OF PRODUCTION OF CORN ABOVE THE CONSUMPTION OF THE POPULATION. — THE TRADING AND MANUFACTURING CLASS ARE THE PROTECTIONISTS IN DENMARK. — POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ENGLAND NOT APPLICABLE TO OTHER COUNTRIES. — THE OPERATIVE INTEREST A THIRD PARTY BETWEEN FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION. — ITS ARGUMENT, PRINCIPLE, AND POWER.

FLENDSBURG, 1851.—This town is about twenty English miles from Sleswick. The road, which is good, and macadamised, passes from a fringe of green fields, hedges, and groves, which borders the long fiord called the Sley, to a similar green fringe around the sides and head of the fiord of Flendsburg. The intermediate space between the heads of these fiords is a brown and yellow moor of stunted heath and bare sand, flat, barren, almost uninhabited, and sprinkled with small lakes, pools, bogs, and peat-grounds. The view extends over a considerable space of such bare, flat, barren land, even from the small elevation of the traveller's carriage, or from one of the grave-mounds which are scattered on the moor. This bare back of the peninsula is, in some places, separated from its

green coastside-fringe of arable and pasture land by an intermediate soil covered with woods, which may claim the dignity of forests, from their extent, and consist of oak, elm, beech, and lime trees, of great size and beauty. The ash seems a scarce tree; and the pine tribe, or needle-leaved trees, do not grow naturally in this country, and, where they have been planted, do not thrive. I have not seen a thriving fir, pine, or larch; but every where the most magnificent oak and beech trees flourish. It is curious that so small a distance as the breadth of the Sound at Elsinore, not more than three or four miles, should divide the land of beech-trees from the land of firs. In the island of Seáland, about latitude 56°, the most splendid forests of beech and oak, perhaps, in Europe cover the land, but the fir will not grow to be a large tree; and across the Sound, in the same latitude, the fir occupies the land in vast forests, and the beech, oak, and elm do not grow naturally, or become fine trees. It is not the difference of elevation above the sea that is the cause; for the province of Scania, and indeed all Sweden, is as low and flat as the island of Sealand, or this peninsula. It must be in the soil or subsoil. In this peninsula the subsoil, at the lowest depth to which it has been penetrated, consists of sand, gravel, and boulder stones of granite or gneis, interspersed, and upon this a stratum of clay containing boulder stones also, and above the clay a covering of vegetable earth, or of peat-moss, with marl immediately under the moss. This subsoil absorbs all the water that can penetrate to it; so that, although lakes of all sizes abound in localities where the impervious clay is the bottom, there is no stream of running water in the country, no burns or brooks, but only

stripes of sluggish water-ditches connected together, and oozing slowly to an outlet as one river, the Eyder, into the North Sea. Few streams run towards the Baltic or the Cattegat. In the land of fir-trees—the great Scandinavian peninsula—the granite, or rather gneis, is the subsoil or ground-rock, and is the soil also; for the thin layer of earth covering the ground-rock is a mixture of granitic sand or gravel, with decayed vegetable matter, mosses, heaths, and small plants; and in this earth the needle-leaved race of trees appears to flourish better than in the richer land of Denmark, in which marl, chalk, and substances, such as limestone, connected with animal or organic matter, enter more largely into the composition of the soil.

In the Baltic there is no rise and fall of water every six hours, no ebb and flood. The eastern shores of this peninsula are strangers to the regularly recurring agency which is at work on its western shores, adding to or taking away from the land. If we may conclude, from the single fact that the stripe of land which bounded the head of the inlet of the Baltic called the Lymfiord, and divided it from the North Sea, has been washed away within this half century, and the north end of Jutland converted into an island, separated by a strait, with nine feet of water in it, from the rest of the peninsula, the tendency of this agency at present is to take away the land, to remove the barrier which the same agency has formed, in times unknown, between the great ocean and the Baltic. Although ebb and flood do not recur in the Baltic regularly, there are, owing to prevailing winds, melting of ice in the great rivers, or other local causes, very great changes sometimes in the level of

the water in various places. I have seen the shore at Kiel laid dry for several yards, where usually there is a depth of three or four feet of water; and here, at Flendsburg, there is a wall facing the quay, on which is marked the height at which the water has stood against it at various periods. The highest mark is at least ten feet above the ordinary level of the water in the fiord; for it is eight feet above the pavement of the quay: but as nothing is recorded of the wind or weather, of ice or thaw, it is only the fact, not the causes, or any information leading to them, that can be deduced from the marks. The natural history of the Baltic, the changes which the adjacent lands have undergone, and are, by slow but evident process, undergoing, the nature of the bottom of this remarkable lake or sea, of its waters, its fish, its marine vegetable products, are subjects of which the world is remarkably uninformed, considering that its western and northern coasts are inhabited by the two most distinguished nations in such researches, — a nation of naturalists, and a nation of antiquaries.

In our popular histories of England, we are edified by the tale of Canute the Great rebuking the adulation of his courtiers by ordering his chair of state to be carried below high-water mark on the English coast, and showing them that the flowing tide would not retire at the royal command. It is probable that the origin of this traditionary anecdote may have been the curiosity of the Danes, who had never witnessed the phenomenon of flood and ebb in the Baltic, and would naturally point it out to the king, and desire him to witness it.

Flendsburg, 1851.—This town is a string of red-tiled houses with white sides, standing in two rows,

and forming a long, roughly-paved street, round the head of a fiord, about sixteen miles from its mouth in the Baltic. This fiord is at the south end of the great and little Belt, is near to all the Danish islands, and has depth of water for large vessels at the quay-side of the town. Flendsburg, owing to these advantages, is a flourishing place, of about eighteen thousand inhabitants, with many large vessels in the foreign carrying trade and in the Greenland fishery, and with fifteen sail in the West-India trade. Next to Copenhagen, it is the most important commercial town in the Danish dominions. The Danish West-India islands, St. Croix and St. Thomas, being entrepôts for smuggling goods into Mexico, and also into the South American States on the Atlantic, which impose import duties on European manufactures, are of much greater commercial importance than their own products or consumption would make them. German manufactures, as well as British, for the South American markets, find their way to the consumers from these Danish West-India islands; and Flendsburg is, or before the late war was, the most convenient port for the German manufacturer or merchant to ship his goods from. To acquire the important West-India trade of Flendsburg, and possibly the Danish West-India islands, which are intimately connected with the commercial capital and mercantile houses in Flendsburg, was one of the great objects of Prussian policy in her intrigues for annexing Sleswick to Holstein, and bringing both under her power.

There are wealthy merchants and shipowners here, in Flendsburg, who live very modestly and quietly, in houses of no more show than those of their shipmasters; but all are good, comfortable dwellings.

There are considerable sugar-refining works, distilleries, soap works, paper mills, and other manufactories, in and about the town; and ship-building, with all its collateral branches of industry, is upon a considerable scale. I got into an inn frequented by a class of travellers who, since the introduction of railroads, are of less importance now than they were formerly in our English inns, — the commercial travellers. Here they are still the support of the most comfortable inns in country towns. These Proben Ritters, or Knights of the Sample, as they are called in Denmark, are very like what their brethren, the bagmen of England, were forty years ago, — shrewd, intelligent, clever men. They all spoke the two languages of the country, Danish and Platt Deutsch, and were travelling for orders on account of German manufacturers, and are paid as highly as our commercial travellers. They were seldom fewer than ten or twelve every day at dinner; and, as in the travellers' room in our English inns, they had a kind of understanding and frank jollity with each other, and were very kind and communicative to strangers. There was not a more intelligent class in England than the commercial travellers in the times when they travelled in their own gigs with their samples, and put up always at the same inns. Railway travelling has not entirely superseded this class, but has altered the mode of travelling, and diminished their employment in England. In this country they are still flourishing; and the two languages used in this town, as French and Flemish are in Belgian towns, make it necessary for the German manufacturers to employ commercial travellers conversant with Danish in this part of the German "Vaterland." Danish is the

family language of the lower and middle classes in this town; but all use occasionally the Platt Deutsch of the country people south of them. The cultivated German is the language of the upper, educated class, the clergy, functionaries, and other university-bred people. The seamen, shipwrights, tradesmen, shopkeepers, and merchants live by their connection with Denmark and the Danish Islands, not by the trade with the scanty Platt Deutsch population between Flendsburg and the Eyder; and they are keenly opposed to the German interest and proposed amalgamation. The functionary class and the clergy espoused the German cause, but were a small minority in a commercial town, like Flendsburg, not depending upon the expenditure of official incomes for its trade and well being.

Flendsburg, 1851.—The churchyard of this town is very interesting. Here are interred the remains of the Danish soldiers who fell in the battle of Idstedt. General Schleppegrell, Colonels Lassoe and Trepka, and a multitude of officers and private soldiers, repose here. The Danish Government has placed a marble head-stone at each grave, equally at the officer's and the common man's, and with the same simple inscription on each, viz., after the name and rank of the individual, "fell at Idstedt." One large grave contains the remains which could not be identified,—friends and foes whose names were unknown, but who "fell at Idstedt." The anniversary of the battle, the 25th of July, was celebrated here by a procession of the children, widows, parents, and friends of the dead, followed by all the population, to deposit wreaths of flowers and leaves on the simple tombstones of the killed. There were no shouts of tri-

umph, and no feasting or merrymaking. The Danish flag, with a strip of crape, hung from every house. There was a grief, and sympathy with the bereaved, which suppressed all indications of rejoicing. The Danes have much good feeling and good taste in such matters.

The German professors and would-be statesmen — the Arndts, the Venedeys, the Dahlmans, the von Gagerens, of the Frankfort parliament — should take a walk, some fine summer evening, in this churchyard, and ask themselves, here among the dead, if all their visions of a new German empire, if their black, red, and yellow flag and all they had dreamt of under that symbol, if the enthusiasm they had excited for a "New Germany" and for objects which, if they had been attained, would, by their own programme of ground-principles, have made the condition of the great mass of the population of Germany worse than it was before — more class-ridden, more functionary-ridden, more taxed, more Landwehred, — and if their ideal standing army of half a million of men — if their imaginary fleets, finances, magnificence, diplomacy, and political importance among nations, to be supported by an already overburdened and over-governed people, — if all had been successful — if all these dreams and schemes had been realised, would the practical good results have atoned for the blood-shed, for the amount of misery, distress, and woe to families, and of the affections, feelings, hopes of thousands of their fellow-beings mixed up with and buried under these mounds of earth? Will these men escape the pang of reflection that they were the instigators, promoters, leaders, of this senseless and unprincipled war — that they are guilty of this

slaughter in the eye of God and of all thinking men in this and in all future generations?

Flendsburg, 1851.—A Glasgow steam-boat—well do the Glasgow people work out the motto of their city arms, "Let Glasgow flourish,"—plies from Flendsburg through the sounds and channels of the Danish archipelago to Copenhagen and back. Steam is doing great things for Denmark. It has connected all the islands and the towns on the Baltic side of the peninsula with each other and with the capital; and even the passage from Kiel to Copenhagen, which was formerly a voyage of six or seven days, is now performed regularly in twelve hours—also by Glasgow steamers. Steam power has made the most disjointed kingdom in Europe the most compact. On the North Sea side of the peninsula, the benefit of steam navigation is also very important. From the Scaw Point to the Elbe, the coast, for an extent of nearly 300 miles, cannot be approached by sailing vessels of any ordinary size, owing to sand-banks, shallow water, shifting channels, and the want of harbours. The mouth of the Eyder, with a depth of only fourteen or fifteen feet, and a breadth of about one hundred and fifty, is the only opening of importance into the land; and its principal harbour at Tonningen, a little town of about 1500 inhabitants, cannot take in vessels of more than eleven feet draught of water, and is considered the best on the coast. Steam has here restored to navigation the only advantage which the ancient mariners of the middle ages had over the modern—viz., that of vessels of small draught of water which, with numerous crews for piracy or defence, were under the command of oars, and, with sails and masts struck, could approach a lee-shore with safety com-

pared to sailing vessels, and could make a passage through narrow and shallow channels which vessels with sails alone could not venture to enter and beat through. This coast, from which the Anglo-Saxon pirates and the Anglo-Saxon conquerors of England issued in their rowing vessels, and which, since piracy ceased, and large sailing vessels came into use, has been almost shut out from any participation by shipping in the commerce of the world, is now opened again by the power of steam. The products of the peninsula—cattle, sheep, pigs, cheese, butter, grain—are now carried regularly to the English markets by steam-vessels sent from London, Leostoff, and Hull, to Hiorting, Ballum, or the mouth of the Eyder, at the rate of about 400 head of cattle weekly. Jutland, and the north of Sleswick, are breeding countries; and the only markets they had formerly for their stock were in Holstein, in the rich marsh land between the Eyder and the Elbe. The cattle were purchased to be fed in the pasture meadows of that district, and were sold, at the end of summer, to the butchers of Hamburgh and Berlin, or to private families laying in a winter stock of salted and smoked beef. The English prices, either for lean or fat cattle, are very much better than the Jutland and Sleswick farmers could get in these limited markets; and they are highly pleased at the result of the political events which disconnects them from Holstein and Hamburgh, and opens up to them markets so much better. The cattle even of the Danish islands begin to find their way across the peninsula for shipment to England. The cattle are of a good, kindly feeding breed, many of them, on the dairy farms, are descended from English stock, and the cattle of the country are of the

same original stock as our English cattle. The Anglo-Saxons evidently brought their own breed of cattle with them. It is as different from the Celtic breed of cattle, the Welsh or Highland, as the Saxon race of men from the Celtic. This change in the channels of traffic adds many millions of dollars to the value of the land and stock of Denmark. The country is essentially agricultural. It has no minerals, no water power from the want of running streams or outfall for its lakes, no fuel for steam-power, no fisheries or navigation which other countries have not greater advantages and facilities in pursuing, and no trade or manufactures, except for the supply of the wants of its own agricultural population. Denmark and England stand in the strongest contrast to each other in their natural capabilities, and, consequently, in their social polity. The political economy of Denmark deserves to be examined.

In a previous volume of Notes on the social and political state of Europe I ventured to suggest, for the consideration of our political economists, that their political economy is not an universal science of which the principles are applicable to all men under all circumstances, and equally good and true for all nations — and universal application is the distinguishing characteristic and test of every branch of knowledge that claims the dignity of real science — but that every country has a political economy of its own, suitable to its own physical circumstances of position on the globe, climate, soil, products, and to the habits, character, and idiosyncracy of its inhabitants, formed or modified by such physical circumstances. To apply the social polity, or political economy, of England, as, for instance, trial by jury,

representative legislatures, free trade, civil freedom, or free action of mind, body, industry, and capital, to the French or German people, is proved, by the transactions of the last four years, to be a fruitless attempt to infuse the spirit, principles, and character of society peculiar to one people into another. The failure to establish any kind of free social polity in France or Germany can only be ascribed to the people themselves. Their most enlightened and educated representatives could only produce the forms, without the substance, of constitutional government. Denmark is one of those countries which has a political economy and social polity of her own, peculiar and suitable to herself, although directly opposite to those of England. The question of protection — the same that agitates England — presents itself to us in Denmark in a different form. It is the question reversed, turned upside down, for it is the trader and manufacturer here who rejoices in protection for his branch of industry, and the landowner and farmer who enjoys and defends free trade for his, and would be ruined without it.

Denmark being altogether agricultural, not manufacturing, except for the home use of her own agricultural consumers, her population increases very slowly, and keeps very far behind the means of subsistence from the products of the soil. She is a living evidence of the falsity of the theory, that population increases more rapidly than subsistence where the land of a country is held by small working proprietors. There are large estates and small all over the country, estates of noblemen and gentlemen, and estates of peasant proprietors. The greater part of the land of Denmark is in the hands of the latter class. They

are increasing, not by dividing and sub-dividing their land among their children, which seems to be a social characteristic of the Celtic race, and peculiar to the peasantry of France and Ireland, but by clubbing together, and buying and dividing noblemen's estates or crown lands which happen to come into the market. As a class they are wealthy, and such combined purchases and divisions of land are common. The land is well divided for the capital and industry of the country. The great verpachter with his skill and capital, and the working husbandman with his own labour only, his family's, and his little working and milking stock, can find farms to suit them. I have seen none so small as to be cultivated without horses, by spade labour only. In all northern climates on the Continent, as stated before, the short interval of time between winter and spring, between the frozen, impenetrable state of the soil, and the season for sowing, prevents the division of the land into portions too small to maintain horses becoming prevalent. Spade husbandry could not overtake the seed-time; and frost and snow are natural preventive checks upon too minute a division of the land. The number of estates in Denmark Proper of an extent to be manors, and having manorial rights, and belonging principally to the nobility and gentry, is not above 800; and of freehold estates of smaller size, belonging generally to peasant proprietors, the number is about 63,700, not including houses with gardens only, and without farm land. There are, besides, about 10,000 copyholders, that is holding land on leases, transferable by sale, mortgage, or inheritance, and about 56,300 leaseholders, holding land on life-rent or on long leases, but with no right of alienation. The total

average yearly production of grain of all kinds raised in Denmark and Holstein, is estimated by Mr. Macgregor, in his valuable commercial statistics, from data furnished by the British Consuls to the Board of Trade, at 7,978,219. imperial quarters, the yearly home consumpt at 6,048,000 quarters, and 1,930,219 quarters consequently are exported or used for seed. Whether these figures, which, from their nature, can only be conjectural, are greatly in excess, or fall greatly short of the reality, it is evident that a free trade in corn, — that is, freedom to export it, for the importation of corn into a country producing yearly, on an average, nearly one-fourth more than it consumes, requires no prohibitive duties to prevent it, — is altogether necessary to the landed interest.

Next to England, the best customer of the agricultural industry of Denmark is Norway, which, in bad seasons, depends almost entirely for food upon Denmark, and in the best requires large supplies of corn from her. Sweden, in the best season, has nothing to spare to Norway, and, owing to the length of carriage by land and sea, has no means of conveying any surplus, if she had it, to the Norwegian population. The wood of Norway, also, is in constant demand in all parts of Denmark, in which fir is a tree altogether wanting; but Sweden, abounding herself in fir timber, can take nothing whatever that Norway produces. The union of Norway and Sweden will, on this account, always remain an unnatural and merely political connection. There are no common interests, no interchanges of industry for industry possible between the two countries.

The excess of subsistence above population in this old and fertile agricultural country of Denmark, in which

the land is so happily distributed, is shown remarkably by the absence of extreme poverty, destitution, or distress for food. There is poverty in Denmark, as in all countries. The aged, the infirm, the widows and orphans of the labouring class, are every where in poverty; but, in this country, a very small proportion are in want of food, and reduced to beg their bread, or are consigned to the poor-house. Where there is a surplus of food in a country, the friends and relatives of the poor will support them, and this was the theory of the late Dr. Chalmers, but it is applicable only to an agricultural population. The dairy husbandry, which is the basis of all husbandry in Denmark, whether it be on the greatest or the smallest scale, on the scale of four cows, or of four hundred on the farm, denotes, also, a great excess of grain beyond the wants of the inhabitants. No root crops, such as turnips or mangel worsel, are raised for the winter food of the cattle, either because they cannot be stored and kept all winter, and cannot be got out of the ground during frost and snow, or because they taint the butter and injure the main product of the dairy farm. The milking cattle are kept highly on mashed grain, unthreshed corn, crops of mixed grain, and on the products, clover, pease, vetches, of land which, but for the dairy husbandry, would be under grain crops; and in summer they are pastured, and much of the winter stock of hay is produced on fields of old grass which, if arable husbandry and grain crops were the farmer's principal object, would be broken up and brought into a rotation for corn. With all this consumpt of grain in bringing the products of the cattle stock to its highest value, the total surplus of grain is nearly one-fourth of the

whole crop for seed and export. The Danish farmers have adopted the best system, probably, both for the country and themselves. The dairy husbandry gives them a command of manure, and keeps their fields in a state of fertility. Sheep folding, town manure, and such extra aids to the dunghill, cannot be generally available where towns are small and thinly scattered, and mutton is not much in demand. Dairy products, butter, cheese, pork, veal, are more valuable and saleable products than grain, and when grain is very cheap they come into more general use, and their price rises as that of bread and corn falls. This permanent excess of agricultural products beyond the consumpt of the population, and the wide diffusion of these products among the mass of the population by the happy division of the land, make this little country of Denmark the most favourable in Europe to the comfort and well-being of the working man. The free trade in corn and other agricultural products, — that is, the exportation free from prohibitive duties, — enables the employers in husbandry to pay the employed. These two classes, the employers and employed in agriculture, give work and bread to all who are not directly engaged in husbandry, but produce the articles the husbandman requires, and the excess of the production above the wants of the population keeps the necessaries of life cheap. The traders and manufacturers here are accordingly equivalent to the landowners and farmers in our political economy. They are the protectionist and protected classes, whose branches of industry are defended from competition by heavy prohibitive import duties, on the same principle as our late import duties on foreign corn. It is interesting to see this reverse

side of the English protectionist question—the agricultural interest here living by free trade, and the trading and manufacturing interests by protection.

Denmark, as stated above, has no metals or minerals, no fire power, no water power, no products or capabilities for becoming a manufacturing country supplying foreign consumers. She has no harbours on the North Sea. Her navigation is naturally confined to the Baltic. Her commerce is naturally confined to the home consumpt of the necessaries and luxuries of civilised life, which the export of her corn and other agricultural products enables her to import and consume. She stands alone in her corner of the world, exchanging her loaf of bread, which she can spare, for articles she cannot provide for herself, but still providing for herself everything she can by her own industry. This is no unhappy condition, either for an individual or a nation. This home industry of hers is protected by heavy import duties on all foreign articles which could compete with her own manufactures, and these are avowedly imposed, not for revenue, for which a lower duty would be more productive, but for protection. Many of our eminent political economists, and even Mr. Macgregor in his valuable Statistics of Commerce, suppose the object of these protective duties is to make Denmark a manufacturing country, in spite of the natural obstacles of want of minerals, fire power, water power, raw materials, and even of access at all seasons to the world's great markets. This is applying English ideas and English political economy to countries presenting totally different data to the political philosopher. The object of this policy of the Danish Government is simply to secure a living and occupation to that portion

of the population which is not engaged in husbandry, and which, without protective duties on all that interferes with their branches of industry, would become a burden on the rest of the community owing to the natural want of products or capabilities in the country of giving employment in manufactures, commerce, or in any branch of industry but agriculture, and the few arts and trades connected with it. This protective system in any country, and under any circumstances, would have been scoffed at a few years ago by our English political economists as contrary to all sound principle; but it wears a less foolish aspect if we examine it closely, and with reference to the physical circumstances which impose it upon some countries, such as Denmark, and to the social or conventional circumstances which dispose the classes the most distant and most opposed to each other in general, to clamour for it in our own. This system, whether wise or foolish, includes under its wing all the principles and doctrines, and social arrangement, that the socialist or communist of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the protectionist lord or squire in any English country, are demanding as their right. The red republican in France, and the exclusive aristocrat in England, agree upon, and are reasoning from, one and the same principle in social philosophy — viz., that property is, by the fundamental law of society, entitled to protection; and they only differ in their definition of what is property. Our land alone is property to be protected by the state, say the landed interests; our capital, commerce, manufactures, stock, wealth, constitute the only property requiring or deserving protection, say the manufacturing, commercial, and moneyed interests; our labour and skill,

by which all other property has been created, and is rendered productive, require protection as much as land or capital, and are equally entitled to it, say the working operative classes. The Danish Government appears to have adopted, and always acted upon, that policy which the physical circumstances of the country, viz., the natural want of all products or means by which a surplus population could be employed in manufacturers or commerce, have imposed upon it; and to have protected, as a species of property, the skill and labour of her working operative classes by heavy import duties on all articles that interfered with their industry; and to have protected them, also, against themselves, that is against an accumulation of more labour and skill in any trade than the locality required and could subsist, and to have protected the landed interest and their labourers by a free export of their products.

A more efficacious protection even than import duties is given to all branches and products of home industry in Denmark by the corporation system. Every trade is carried on by members of a corporate body, consisting of the master workmen of that trade. They can admit or reject claimants to the privilege of carrying on their branch of industry in their town or locality. They limit the number of masters entitled to exercise their trade in it, the number of apprentices and journeymen each master may employ, and the time these must serve in each stage of their business. They examine and certify their proficiency, and control the conditions and wages on which they are engaged. The corporation system exists in more vigour in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, than in any other countries. It is pro-

bably an inheritance from the Hanse towns, which, in the 15th and 16th centuries, ruled all commercial arrangements in the north of Europe, infused the spirit of monopoly into all branches of trade, and left the system of incorporations, town privileges, and the Lubeck law, upon which all states in the middle ages modelled their regulations concerning trades and commerce. These regulations remain more or less in force through all Germany, and especially in the north of Europe. The wholesale merchant, the retail merchant in every distinct kind of business, the tradesman in every branch of industry, the master, the journeyman, the apprentice, in every handicraft, the very ticket porter in the streets, and fisherman in the town ditches, belongs to a guild or incorporation of his own kind of trade, which will admit no more members to the privilege of exercising it than the locality can support without injury to those already established. Socialism, communism, the rights of labour, and other theories on the improvement of the condition of the working man, which occupy and agitate the great body of artisans in this nineteenth century, are in principle the same, and, if carried into practical effect, must necessarily take the same shape, with the same regulations, and the same results, as this incorporation system of the middle ages now has in this country. The principle common to both, as explained above, is that labour of skill is a property acquired by the skilled labourer, and entitled to protection by law as much as land, cattle, houses, or any other kind of property originally common to all mankind. The skill which was first applied to plough the field, tame the cattle, or build the house, is allowed, for the benefit of all, to confer

a right of property on the individual applying it to those common goods of nature, land, wild animals, stones, created for the use of all. The right to appropriate any of these is derived, originally, from the labour and skill of the appropriator applied to the thing appropriated. It becomes his exclusively, instead of belonging in common to all his fellow-beings, and is his in virtue of his labour and skill. His own labour and skill constitute the only property to which the individual has an exclusive right, and by which he can appropriate to himself, and acquire, by the assent of all, a right to a portion of what originally, or in a state of nature, belonged equally to all. Now the workman, who by much application and labour has acquired the skill to make a watch or a pair of shoes, is entitled, on this principle, and also under this incorporation system of the middle ages, to protection by law, and social arrangement, for this acquired skill. It is his property, as exclusively, and upon the same principle as the landed estate by which his employer lives, is his; and if it is not so acknowledged and maintained by law in some countries, the fault is in the law which is conventional, and may be reformed, but not in the natural right of appropriation by skill and labour. It is on this principle, and with this argument, that socialism, communism, co-operative societies, trades' unions, are founded and defended by the operative classes; and in the social arrangements of the middle ages the principle was—it cannot be denied—fully acknowledged and acted upon. Every workman in every trade was secured against the intrusion of more competitors in the branch of industry in which he had acquired a right of property by his skill and

labour, than could find a fair living in it. He was a shareholder in his trade, and his trade was the joint property of himself and the other members of his incorporated craft in his town or locality, subject, like all other property, to such regulation and limitations of the government of the country as the general good of the community might require. This is the state now of all trades or handicrafts, and of all manufacturing and commercial establishments in Denmark, and it is this state which the operative classes in London, Paris, Lyons, Manchester, and all the capitals of manufacturing industry, desire to reintroduce, as the sole remedy for the fluctuations in their condition. It is this state and right which the Amalgamated Society of Engineers contend for. It was mentioned lately in some of our newspapers, that the pianoforte makers in Paris, the operative workmen employed in the construction of those instruments, finding their skill and labour underpaid, owing to the competition for work of greater numbers of workmen than the trade could support, had combined to work together, and, by their co-operative labour, were manufacturing and selling pianofortes in considerable numbers on their own account. The instrument requires for its construction the work of many different branches of industry. The wood-work and the metal-work, the strings, screws, and keys, cannot be well made but by workmen bred to each distinct kind of work required. Now if these associated workmen had the power to prevent any other tradesmen who were not members of their association from making or selling pianofortes in Paris, they would be precisely in the position of the incorporations of the middle ages, and precisely in

the position which the socialists of the nineteenth century endeavour to establish. The members of the association would have a right of property, and a secure livelihood in their several trades of skill connected with pianoforte making. They might labour together for a joint-stock fund, to be divided at intervals among them, according to rules and proportions agreed upon, or they might work each for himself, and each earning wages according to his abilities or industry. Still the competition for work at prices unduly low, or so low as not to allow the workman a civilised subsistence, would be prevented; the wages, as well as the number of workmen, would be fixed; the numbers bred to any trade would be in some reasonable proportion to the consumption and demand for its products; and all operatives would find a living in their several vocations according to their talents and industry. Sickness, want of work, the education of children, the support of widows, are incidents and expenses in the operative man's life which would find relief and help from the common fund of his incorporation, of which he is a co-proprietor. The evil, also, of an over-population in proportion to employment and means of subsistence is considerably checked in those countries in which the classes whose increase is most rapid and most disastrous, are restrained from early marriage by the time required to attain a fixed position as masters of a trade, and by the certainty of at last, after passing through a long apprenticeship and journeymanship, being, as masters, in a situation to marry. Countries in similar circumstances to Denmark, which have no unlimited range of unappropriated land to absorb a surplus population, as America has, and no unlimited

command of raw materials and powers for manufacturing all that mankind uses, as England has, may be excused for standing still on the brink of the vast ocean of English and American political economy, before venturing to plunge into it, and for doubting whether, with all its attractions as a theory, and its advantages in practice for England and America in promoting national wealth and commercial prosperity, they are not as well off, with their populations restricted in their increase to the amount of permanent employment and subsistence they can at all times supply within their own bounds, and restricted by ancient social arrangements and regulations to which their populations are accustomed, and regard not merely with favour, but as rights. Populations may be less numerous, and classes or individuals in various branches of trade and industry less wealthy, and the national wealth—that is, the means to raise the public revenue and meet the exigencies of the state—may be less, yet the national well-being may be greater, the diffusion of employment, subsistence, comfort, and civilised habits and tastes may be greater under their system of political economy than under ours. In Denmark, with no numerous class of labouring people to support, except the class employed in raising their own food by agricultural labour, and the handicrafts—men in various ordinary trades supported by this agricultural class; and with no other employments in her dominions to which any addition to her labouring class could turn for subsistence; with an abundance also of agricultural products for their support, and an agricultural system by which, however faulty in the eye of the British farmer, the whole body of the people is well fed, well lodged, well clothed, well

educated, and enjoys a surplus for procuring from abroad the conveniences and luxuries not produced at home; it would be a very doubtful improvement to adopt the principles and practice of the political economy suitable to England. In agriculture itself, the implements and processes, such as threshing machines, reaping machines, horse rakes, &c., by which much labour is saved, may be great improvements, adding to the wealth and well-being of the whole community in the country of metals, minerals, and manufactures, or in the country in which land is superabundant and labour scarce, but in a limited, purely agricultural country already filled up, like Denmark, the labour saved would be thrown idle and destitute from the natural want of commercial or manufacturing capabilities of employing it; and the improvement might only add to the wealth of one class, the farmers and landowners, not to the employment and means of living of the great mass of the people, the body of agricultural labourers.

From these considerations, it may be fairly deduced that political economy is not a science — that is, a code of principles equally applicable to all countries, universal application being the test of all true science, — but only a system of opinions and experiences, applicable to one country and not to another, and that the political economy applicable and suitable to England would not be so to Denmark, nor that of Denmark to England. If this be a fair conclusion from the facts (the facts, be it remembered, are physical and permanent, not conventional or removable, —viz. the want of metals, minerals, fire-power, water-power, rivers, harbours, and other natural advantages, in the one country, and their abundance in the

other), what becomes of free trade and reciprocity among nations as principles universally applicable, and which all governments should adopt and act upon? What becomes of freedom of trade in the internal policy of a country, as equally suitable to all countries under all circumstances? What becomes of the famous principle of "buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest markets," as the true principle on which nations should regulate their transactions with other nations? The cheapest may not be the best and most suitable in the economy of a nation, any more than of a family. What becomes, in short, of the whole science of our political economy, as a science applicable to other countries as well as to our own? We are driven to the wall in attempting to defend the principles of our political economy and free trade, if extended beyond the limits and interests of our own island, and must confess that, even within those limits, much of our political economy and free trade promotes only class advantage and capitalist advantage, not the well being of all classes equally. The two mightiest classes in our social body—the class of landowners and farmers, and the class of operatives or owners of labour and skill in the various branches of trade and industry—concur, at the present day, in demanding what our system of political economy and free trade denies them,—protection for their kinds of property. The two—the landed interest and the operative interest—have a common object and principle. They are embarked in the same boat, and are bound to the same port—protection, protection for their property; but they are rowing against each other. It is only by joining their powers, and pulling together in one direction, that they can reach

their common goal. They must both clearly understand each other. The landed interest cannot, in reason, expect the support of the great mass of the community in giving a protected and artificial value, by a renewal of the corn laws, to their kind of property, without supporting a protected and artificial value to the property of the great mass, consisting in labour and skill; nor can the owners of this kind of property, the operative interest, expect a protected and artificial value for their labour and skill, without supporting a protected and artificial value for the property of the landed interest. The two interests must join their banners, and take the field together, if they are to conquer. Protection must be equal, and extended equally over all classes; not merely given to one class to the prejudice of the other classes. And here rises the difficulty. The property of the landed interest to be protected is not merely the corn, and cattle, and rents of the landowner and farmer, but the labour and wages of the working man in husbandry. His labour and skill are property, as truly as the labour and skill of any member of the Amalgamated Association of the operative engineers, who are now contending in London with their employers for this very principle of protection for their property in their labour and skill. It is not for the protection of products, but of producers, that the operative interest contends. It is for the protection of products only, and of that kind of products which cannot be protected without injury to other classes, that the landed interest contends; and it ignores altogether the producers even of its own products. The operative interest would probably have no objection at all to a duty on corn that would double the

price of their bread, provided the legislature would make such enactments and arrangements as would, with equal certainty, double the rate of their wages. The operative in husbandry, the farm labourer, would gladly pay eightpence instead of fourpence for his loaf of bread, if he was secured of sixteen or twenty shillings instead of eight or ten for his week's work. Is the landed interest prepared to take protection at this price? The age is evidently past in which products, whether corn or cotton, or silk or woollen products, were protected for the benefit of one class, to the prejudice of other classes. Protection must extend over all, or free trade over all. It cannot have escaped the notice of the least observing, that our political economy has, within these two years, had a new element—the property of labour and skill, the operative interest—engrafted in it. Protection or free trade must be reasoned upon, and legislated for, on different principles and from different data than those of the comparative importance of the landed interest and the manufacturing interest—the land and the capital of the country. A third interest has started up, more important and powerful, and apparently more united and acute, than either,—the operative interest, the labour and skill of the country. The landlords and capitalists, in their strife for protection or free trade, have long ignored this third interest, and contented themselves with the dogma of the political economist,—that the value of this interest, the labour and skill of the working mass, was merely what it will bring in the labour market. This sophism will not bear examination. The demand for and supply of labour of any kind in the labour market will, no doubt, raise or lower its price, within a cer-

tain range, above or below its average standard; but the range itself within which it fluctuates, is determined, or ought in any sound state of society to be determined, on other principles. Like the column of mercury in the tube of the barometer, the vicissitudes of the weather may make it rise or fall an equal number of degrees at the sea side and on the summit of the mountain; but the range within which it rises or falls in the two situations is very different, and is determined by an invariable principle. What the operative interest contends for is a similar fixity of the range within which their wages, the value of their skill and labour, may rise or fall, according to the demand and supply in the labour market. This appears to be the object of all trades unions, strikes, associations of operatives, of socialism itself, and of all doctrines or schemes that fall short of absolute communism and extinction of all rights of property in the individual. If England could go back three centuries; if all the useful arts could be replaced and fixed in the small development they had in the days of Queen Elizabeth; if the population could return from an amount of five or six and twenty millions to five or six, this object might partly be attained by returning to the mediæval arrangements of all arts and trades in distinct guilds or incorporations, managed by a council of the masters and journeymen of each craft. All that Mr. Newton and the Council of Seven of the Amalgamated Association of Engineers require—the regulation of piece work, of extra hours, of the numbers of journeymen, apprentices, unskilled labourers, workmen not members of the Society, and also of the masters allowed to employ skill and labour in any trade or art—would be in their hands. They

would be a transcript of the guilds of the middle ages, with the same powers. These mediæval social arrangements were not founded in ignorance of the social good or evil attending them. They seem to have been well adapted for the social state of the times and countries in which they were established, and, with some modifications, not incompatible with the highest civilisation and well being of a people. Denmark, with these mediæval arrangements in considerable vigour, restraining an undue increase of population in general, and of operatives in manufacturing industry in particular, beyond employment and subsistence, stands higher, perhaps, than England in the absence of want, vice, ignorance, inordinate desire of gain, or great inequality of condition in its social body. But Denmark is entirely what it was three centuries back,—an agricultural country, stationary even in the useful arts. All that cotton, iron, coal, machinery, and steam have been doing in England, is foreign to Denmark. England could no more return now to the simple social arrangements of an agricultural country like Denmark than she could return to the social state of the Heptarchy.

The whole of our system of political economy, and the vexed questions of free trade or protection, are reopened, and will have to be reconsidered, in consequence of the appearance of this new element, the operative interest, which the protectionists and free traders, the landlords and the capitalists, appear to have overlooked in their speculations and policy. It holds the balance between them. It has not only the physical power of numbers, but the moral power of principles the same as those on which all other kinds of property are acknowledged, to enforce a considera-

tion of its claims, and to enter, as the party the most interested and important, into all discussions and legislation regarding free trade or protection.

The questions this third interest raises are too vast, important, and new for the traveller to do more than point them out for the consideration of the political economist and philosopher.

CHAP. XIV.

DANISH SCENERY. — SWENDBORG — AALBORG — WYBORG — RANDERS. — GREAT DIFFUSION OF INTELLECTUAL TASTES AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE SMALL TOWNS OF JUTLAND — SCHOOLS — LIBRARIES — THEATRICAL AND MUSICAL CLUBS. — CAUSES OF THIS GREATER DIFFUSION IN DENMARK THAN IN ENGLAND. — NATIONAL EDUCATION. — THE EDUCATION OF SCHOOLS. — THE EDUCATION IN THE BUSINESS OF THE WORLD. — GERMAN EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE ENGLISH.

One of the finest passages of Danish scenery, and perhaps unequalled in the north of Europe, is the strait round the south end of the island of Fyen, between its wooded shores and a chain of small islets, some bare, some covered with magnificent beech trees, — which forms a kind of inland channel for ships between the Great Belt and the Little Belt. The scenery seems scarcely European. Splendid trees, of a size and of a massive foliage rarely seen in the north of Germany or France, skirt the sea shore, grow upon the very beach, and darken the silent, clear water they overhang. The extensive woods inland, the numerous unknown little isles around, and the calm clear water in which they are embedded and reflected, lead the traveller to think of the Pacific rather than the Baltic. Swendborg is a little town in Fyen of about 2500 inhabitants, situated nearly in the middle of a narrow channel wooded on each side, and not wider, in some places, than the Rhine above Bonn, and by which vessels of large size pass for several miles between the isle of Thorseng and Fyen. The scenery on each side of this little town is particularly soft and beautiful. Every country has a character of scenery peculiar to

itself. Italian scenery, Dutch scenery, Swiss, French, English, Scotch scenery, have each a distinct type in our minds. Danish scenery has its distinct character also,—softness, beauty, luxuriance, rich masses of foliage overhanging and shadowing pure unruffled lakes slumbering in the bosom of the forest; distant views of green points of land intersecting the wider expanses of inland waters or fiords; or views of gentle slopes and risings of ground, green or cultivated, and surrounded by groves of magnificent beech, elm, and oak. No running waters, no rocks, no hills, no broken ground, not even the jagged and pointed sky-line of the pine-forest, interrupt the smooth, soft, round outline of land and wood, and the graceful curves of the lake-shores. It is beautiful, soft, luscious land-and-water scenery; and we feel the truth of the Saga epithet applied to Denmark,—"land of the white-necked swan." But it is monotonous; and we long for the breaks of torrents, rocks, and mountains in the lovely landscape.

Swendborg is the place where Swein, the conqueror of England and father of Canute the Great, and who is called in Danish history Swend Tveskiæg (or forked beard), was brought up by his foster-father Palnatoke. Swein is almost a mythological personage in English history. We know little of him but as a personification of the Danish freebooters who carried devastation, under various leaders, through England, and as the father of Canute the Great. The events of his life are, however, as well ascertained by the Saga, especially the Knutlinga Saga, or account of the Canute family, as those of any of our Saxon kings before the Norman conquest; and as testimonials of the way of living and thinking among the pagan Vikings of the

tenth century, deserve more attention than they have received from our English historians. The comparative amount of civilisation, and of the acquaintance with the useful arts, among the pagan and Christian populations in the north of Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries, would be an interesting subject of research, and for which materials are not wanting in the ancient literature and in the museums of the Scandinavian countries.

Swendborg, with about 2600 inhabitants, has several schools (three of which are public schools), a public library, a Bible society, a club, and a dramatic society, which gives theatrical pieces, concerts, masquerades, and balls in winter; and there are tea gardens for the summer-evening recreation of the Swendborgian people. From the abundance of oak timber in the forests, ship building is the principal branch of industry in this little town. It may be fairly taken as a sample of the small towns in Denmark. The educational establishments, the libraries, the circulating libraries, concerts and theatrical amusements by amateurs or regular performers, are not wanting in very small populations; and ship building, tanning, weaving coarse cloth, dyeing, grinding corn, distilling, crushing rape seed for oil, the coasting trade, corn trade, the supplying the neighbouring peasantry with their groceries, and such home trades and manufactures as are required in an agricultural country, and many of which must have existed in the middle ages as well as now, give a living to the inhabitants of these small towns; and many live by husbandry work in the adjacent land. The most striking feature in the character of these small town populations, and that which the traveller least expects to find in coun-

tries so secluded, so removed from intercourse with other countries, by situation and want of exchangeable products, as Sleswick, Jutland, and the Danish islands, is the great diffusion of education, literature, and literary tastes. In towns, for instance, of 6000 inhabitants in England, we seldom find such establishments as the 6000 inhabitants of Aalborg, the most northerly town in Jutland, possess. They enjoy, on the banks of the Lymfiord, a classical school for the branches of learning required from students entering the university; an educational institution, and six burger schools for the ordinary branches of education, and in which the Lancastrian method of mutual instruction is in use; a library of 12,000 volumes, belonging to the province of Aalborg, is open to the public; a circulating library of 2000 volumes; several private collections and museums, to which access is readily given; a dramatic association, acting every other Sunday; and two club-houses for balls and concerts. A printing office and a newspaper, published weekly or oftener, are, in such towns, establishments of course. Wyborg, the most ancient town in Jutland, the capital in the time of the pagan kings, and once a great city with twelve parish churches and six monasteries, but now containing no remains of its former grandeur, and only about 3000 inhabitants, has its newspaper three times a week, its classical school, its burger school, its public library, circulating library, and its dramatic association acting six or eight plays in the course of the winter. These being county towns, the seats of district courts and business, have, no doubt, more of such establishments than the populations of the towns themselves could support; but this indicates a wide diffusion of educa-

tion and intellectual tastes in the surrounding country. Randers, on the Guden river, the only river of any length of course which runs into the Baltic or Cattegat from the peninsular land, and the only one in which salmon are caught, is not a provincial capital, and is only about twenty-five English miles from the capital, Wyborg; but it has, for its 6000 inhabitants, a classical school, several burger schools, one of which has above 300 children taught by the mutual-instruction method, a book society, a musical society, a circulating library, a printing press, a newspaper published three times a week, a clubhouse, and a dramatic society. Aarhuus, with about the same population as Randers, and about the same distance from it as Randers from Wyborg, has a high school, two burger schools, and a ragged or poor school, a provincial library of 3000 or 4000 volumes, a school library of about the same extent, a library belonging to a club, a collection of minerals and shells belonging to the high school, a printing press (from which a newspaper and a literary periodical are issued), book and music shops, a clubhouse, concert and ball room, and a dramatic society. Holstebro, a little inland town of about 800 inhabitants, about thirty-five English miles west from Wyborg, has its burger school, on the mutual-instruction system, its reading society, and its agricultural society. In every little town in this country, the traveller finds educational institutions and indications of intellectual tastes, such as the taste for reading, music, theatrical representations, which, he cannot but admit, surpass what he finds at home in England in similar towns, and among the same classes. What may be the causes, and what the real importance, of

this difference? The educational question—the advantages and the means of diffusing education among the people by government aid and interference—is so generally discussed at present, and the opinions for or against every scheme proposed are so generally mere party opinions, unexamined to the foundations on which they stand, that I will give here the observations which occur to me in the country which is the most generally educated of any in Europe, and in which education has the most influence on the private and public affairs of the people. I give these observations at the risk not only of repetition, but of inconsistencies with former observations; for, be it remembered by the reader, they are given, not as opinions he is called upon to adopt, but as suggestions from which he may form his own opinions.

One great cause of the more general school culture of the mind and tastes of the people here than in England, is to be found in the different nature of their social condition: the people have more leisure, from the nature of their employments, to attend their schools. The English boy of the working class cannot attend school after ten or, of the lower ranks of the middle class, after twelve years of age. The returns of the factory inspectors in Lancashire on this head show that scarcely a boy of thirteen is to be found in large and well-conducted schools. The parents cannot afford to lose his earnings in the factory or the field for their common income, or to keep him in food, clothes, and shoes, and to pay his school fees and books where these are not furnished gratis; and the most judicious and sober-minded parents, who look to no extraordinary chance or stroke of good fortune for their sons, but merely to their living by their labour,

are reasonably and justly afraid that their boys, if not put to work at the same age as other boys, in the fields or factories around, will grow up too idle, proud, and self-willed for their condition. An apprenticeship to any trade is not merely for the learning of the trade, but for the formation of the habits of application, industry, and perseverance in the apprentice; and the school of real work is the true school for this formation of the mind and habits for the future position and success of the individual. His school learning is, and in our social state always must be, secondary to these acquirements. Here, in Denmark, the simple operations of husbandry, which is the main employment of the people, allow much more leisure for education. In the winter half-year, the out-door work for boys is almost dormant; and they can attend schools to a much later time of life. In other branches of industry, neither the master class nor the working class is driven, in their corporation system of trades, by such competition and hurry for production as with us. Trades, manufactures, and work go their regular, slow, jog-trot pace in the harness of corporation privilege and protection from competition, both for masters and workmen. National education or school instruction is much more easily and widely diffused in such a social state than it ever can be in England. The educationalists must replace the English people in the social condition in which they lived two centuries ago, when agriculture was the chief employment, and trades, manufactures, and commerce were exercised under restrictions and monopolies, in order to make any scheme for national education as general and effective in England as it is in Denmark, or on the Continent in general.

But what is national education? The phrase is in every one's mouth, yet ask what it means, and no two persons will give you the same answer. It is, you will be told, imparting useful knowledge and intellectual culture to the lower classes of the population. But this answer only explains one obscurity by another. What is useful knowledge and useful intellectual culture applied nationally, or to a population by wholesale? The education, the good education, of an individual, consists in giving him the knowledge and the intellectual culture, that is, the cultivation of his faculties, the best adapted to his present position and his future reasonable prospects in life. The youth whose present position in life is to acquire a trade, and the habits of steady application, industry, and attention to it, which are necessary for his future reasonable prospects of making an independent respectable living, and, possibly, a fortune by it, would be very ill-educated if his time were occupied, and his mind and habits formed, in the theatre, the ball-room, or the reading-room. The cultivation of mind, the refinement of taste, the suavity and polish of manners which would be very useful acquirements for the apothecary's boy, who may not unreasonably aspire to becoming some day a distinguished member of the medical profession, would certainly not be useful acquirements, or belonging to the good education of his brother, who is going to sea, apprentice in a merchant vessel, with the equally reasonable hope or prospect of rising some day to be mate, master, perhaps, ultimately, owner of a ship, and a man of independent property. If, even in a family, the intellectual culture, the education, the acquirements useful and suitable to one member

of it, would not only be useless, but hurtful, to another, and adverse to the individual's happiness and progress towards his reasonable objects in life, how can a national education,—that is, the same cultivation of mind, tastes, and habits, of all the individuals composing a nation,—be a good education for all? To those who live by teaching, and to a great many pious, benevolent, but superficial zealots, it appears very desirable that all mankind should go to their schools, and they can see no reasonable objection to making school attendance compulsory by act of parliament; but to those who have to live by work, either of their hands or heads, the school acquirements are not so valuable as the educating and the educated classes imagine. The mere acquisition of knowledge is not education. Education is the formation of mind, the development of the intellectual faculties, and of the moral and religious principles of our nature. The acquisition of knowledge is but a means, an instrumentality, in education. This formation and development may be, and as we see every day in mingling with English society, are carried on very successfully by other means and instrumentality than school tuition. We see every day men of the soundest judgment, the most active acute minds, and the most enlightened and upright conduct in every social relation, who have not been indebted to schools for their knowledge, intellectual development, and character, but to a superior and more effective educational instrumentality. If the true end and aim of all education be to form the man for his position and reasonable prospects here and hereafter—and this short definition comprehends the intent of all education, secular and religious—it is not reading, writing,

arithmetic, history, geography, and all the "useful knowledge" which national schools can impart, that, in our social state, form and develope the mind most effectually and suitably for this end, but converse with the world, the daily and hourly calls in every situation in life upon judgment, good sense, distinct views, opinions, and principles, upon reflection on consequences, self-reliance, and energy in action in every trade, way of living, and social relation. School tuition is but preparatory and subsidiary to this educational course, and not even indispensably necessary to it; but the school instructed have, in every rank and station with us, to be educated over again by this instrumentality before they obtain the confidence of others, or are even considered competent to manage their own affairs. It is in this different means or instrumentality by which the man is formed that we find the great difference between the Continental and the English mind, character, and social condition. On the Continent the schools and universities are the only educational means and instrumentality. Owing to the small diffusion of trade, manufacture, and employment in those agricultural countries, and the narrow limits within which the policy of governments, and corporations restrict the free exercise of industry, and the use of capital and talent, the man can only be formed at the school and university, he has no such educational course in the real business of life as we have to be formed in, and he steps at once from the school or university into the senate-house or cabinet. The parliament of Frankfort, the French chamber of deputies, the representative assemblies of every continental country which has attempted the form of constitutional

government, prove that the people and their rulers are equally unfit for it, that the formation of the mind in schools, and the acquirement of knowledge, is not the national education best adapted to a self-governing, free people. The educational men themselves, the professors, school teachers, writers on national school education, and the most zealous partisans among us of the scholastic instrumentality alone, and of a compulsory school education, and a general school tax to support it, are not the most practically wise, prudent, and well informed of the English social body. Take any hundred of them — and we shall throw into the lot Thiers, Guizot, Dupin, Lamartine, all the most eminent school-formed men of the Continent, and all the French chambers and German parliaments, cabinets, and ministers who have appeared and disappeared during this half-century, — and take any hundred of our unschooled, but world-taught class of working-men, artisans, and labourers, and where will the intellectual power, the judgment, and good sense, the ability in adapting means to ends, the ingenuity, the contrivance, the energy, the usefulness in social action, be found? With the school-formed or with the business-formed hundred? It is only in free countries, like England and America, that this instrumentality exists by which the public mind educates itself in these qualifications. To diffuse these is the true and legitimate object of a state; schools and school education are but a means, and not the most effective means, of giving a people this formation of mind. The Continental countries want this means, and are of necessity obliged to raise schools and universities to a social importance which they have not in our country, and which they do not deserve.

If we may judge at least from France and Germany, national education by a machinery of government schools, educational boards, and ministers of state for the education of the people, has not been eminently successful in forming the public mind to moral, religious, industrious, quiet habits in private life, nor in forming, from any class or rank in life, men of sound judgment and common sense for conducting the public business in their parliaments, or even in their parishes. The results of national education in Prussia, and the other countries of Germany which have adopted her system of compulsory school attendance on the people, do not exhibit much that the government or people of England need envy or imitate. During the three years of agitation and anarchy which followed the movement of 1848, or during the two-and-thirty years from 1816 to 1848, in which those convulsions were brewing in the schools and universities, and coming to a head under the educational system of the Continent, the progress of the Continental people in morals, religion, self-government, industry, talent, integrity, or common sense, has not been so much greater than the progress of our own people, that our Government should make haste to adopt any of the Continental schemes for national schools and incorporations of teachers. With freedom of religion, freedom of education, and freedom of the press, people will find education suitable to their requirements without the interference of Government.

A favourite argument with our educationalists—put forth, indeed, as their strongest—is to adduce from the criminal lists of the assizes and prisons the number of offenders who cannot read or write, and

to ascribe their criminality to their ignorance, as effect and cause. But they might, in just reasoning, as well number the criminals who have red hair, and ascribe their criminality to the colour of their heads. They do not show a necessary connection of cause and effect between the two. Has not knowledge a tendency as well as ignorance, nay even more than ignorance, to produce crime? Does not knowledge impart many more incentives to criminal acts, give many more wants, tastes, desires to be gratified, and many more temptations and means to gratify them illegally, than ignorance? If this argument were worth anything at all in the educational question, and were fairly applied to it, it would put down education altogether, as being an element in society more productive of crime than ignorance. The criminal lists would show that ignorance is less frequently connected with vice, immorality, and crime, than knowledge, that the ignorant are not the most depraved class in our population, and that education gives both the incentives and the means to perpetrate crimes which ignorance has neither the desire nor the power to commit. Are we to conclude then that education is an evil in civilised society? By no means: but that an enforced education at schools, an education pressed down upon a country, and extended beyond the natural requirements of the people according to their social state, is an evil, and a monstrous infringement of the natural rights of parents in a free country — that raising a secondary branch of the means by which the public mind is formed and educated — the education of the school — to an unnatural importance above the main educational means — the education in the family and in the world — is a

monstrous mistake in social polity — and that the creation of a new order in society, a class of instructors linked together by a common professional tie, independent of the parents and of the state, and entrusted with the formation of the mind and opinions of the youth of the country upon their theories of political or social economy, morals, and religion, has been proved, if history proves any truth or principle, by the events in Germany and France in 1848, to be dangerous as an institution to the well-being of society and the interests of every government. We may draw the conclusion that a school education enforced by the state is not so favourable to the moral condition of a people, as the education which a free people give to themselves and their families, according to the requirements of their social condition, from a reference to countries which are under the system of national education proposed to be adopted by us, and which have not been exposed, like France or Germany, to any of the demoralising influences of war or political agitation. Sweden is the most generally school-educated country in Europe. It is the boast of her statistical writers, that scarcely an individual of sound intellects, and of an age to be educated, can be found in the Swedish population, who cannot read and write, and is ignorant of the ordinary branches of useful knowledge taught in schools. What are the social results of this general diffusion of school education, and its substitution for the education which parents left to themselves give to their offspring? The official criminal lists of Sweden, quoted in my Notes on that country, prove that a greater amount of crime, in proportion to the population, is perpetrated yearly in

this over-educated country — over-educated in proportion to its social state, that is, to its industry and means to gratify the tastes and desires which school education has diffused — than in ignorant England, in which education has neither been enforced nor fostered, but has been hitherto left to the people themselves, and in which the people are daily and hourly exposed to ten thousand times more temptations to criminal acts, owing to the dense assemblages of population and property in our manufacturing towns and districts, than in an agricultural country like Sweden.

The education in morals, and conduct in life, is always given, and best given, through religion. We are told by clergymen and city missionaries who visit the recesses of vice in our large towns, that they meet with hundreds who have never been inside of a church, who have never heard of a Creator and Redeemer, and who are as ignorant of religion, and as devoid of religious feeling or sentiment, as the beasts of the field. Do these pious and zealous men take into consideration the obstinacy of the ignorant labouring man, who will deny his knowledge, as he will his property, because it is small? Do they not see that the very curses and imprecations of the depraved imply a religious sense at bottom in their blasphemies? If they ask one of those very beings why he must not murder, rob, steal, lie, or bear false witness, they will find that the moral sentiment is based upon the religious even in his undeveloped intelligence, and that he does know of a higher authority for right and wrong, than the policeman's and the sitting magistrate's. These pious exaggerations of the ignorance and vice of the ignorant and vicious, are in

sober truth pious frauds, and do much harm, by misleading people in the higher classes from a just and christianlike estimate of the real defects, failings, and moral condition of their fellow-men in the lower classes. Let any minister or missionary produce a human animal from the darkest retreats of ignorance and vice in London, Glasgow, or Manchester, who is entirely devoid of the rudiment or feeling of religion, does not know right from wrong in conduct, and does not connect right or wrong, in his own mind, with divine approbation, or displeasure, reward or retribution, here or hereafter, and he has discovered an animal more rare and wonderful than the sea-serpent. The metaphysical and the theological students may differ upon the question, whether this constant connection between morality and religion is innate in the constitution of the human mind, or is conventional, and a result of education and association of ideas. It is sufficient for the social philosopher that this connection does exist, and has existed in all ages, — in all stages of civilisation or barbarism, and under all forms of religion or idolatry ; and this undeniable fact in the natural history of mind leads him direct to the practical question, — is it possible, or would it be wise, if possible, to disconnect elementary education from religion in our national schools? This is the proposal of a large section of the advocates for an extended school-machinery for the education of the people under an act of parliament, and with a school-rate or tax, and compulsory attendance; and it is adopted, or recommended, by the Manchester and Salford Association. The advantage in view from the separation of secular from religious education is, that the objection of various sects of the Protestant

Church, and of all Roman Catholics, to their children being instructed by any schoolmaster not of their own persuasion, might possibly be overcome. Secular education only would be given in the proposed national schools, which all children should be compelled by law to attend; while the religious education of the children should be given by the parents, or the minister, or priest, in a separate school, at separate hours, and altogether apart from the secular instruction. Religious animosity and estrangement in society would cease, it is expected, by the children of all sects and churches mingling freely together at the common day-school, for instruction in the common branches of secular education, while each was receiving his religious instruction according to the wishes of the parents and the doctrines of the church to which they may be attached. It is remarkable, and characteristic of the times in which we live, that the gentry of Manchester, so enlightened and practical in all that regards the material interests of the country, should be so little enlightened and practical in their views of its social, intellectual, and moral interests. They would abolish a navy and army, because war is an evil, and religious instruction in the schools of the country, because ignorance is an evil, without reflecting that, in the present state of the civilised world, readiness for war is the guarantee of peace, and religious instruction of morality. A secular education, apart from religious instruction, is not practicable. Reading, writing, arithmetic may, perhaps, be acquired without any direct reference to religion, but they cannot be applied in any way without such reference. History, and all knowledge connected with man, with mind, with society, with moral obligation, with law, with right or wrong in human action, and all knowledge connected with

the sublime facts in physical science which astronomy and geology disclose, — and all these subjects are within the comprehension of the infant mind, and constitute its secular education, — cannot be taught, or touched, without conveying religious instruction, whether the secular schoolmaster intends to do so or not. Is the boy to be taught at school that he, and the great personages he is reading of in history, are moral agents, responsible for their acts here and hereafter, — which is the great moral of history, — and when he goes home to his religious instructor, to be taught that this responsibility may be thrown off by absolution from the priest, and that the personages he was regarding in the morning with virtuous indignation, are to be considered in the evening as saints, or martyrs, to whom he should offer reverence and prayer? Is he to be taught at his secular school that the earth is a planet moving round the sun, and to be taught at his religious school that the earth is fixed, and the sun is a luminous body, about the size of Dr. M'Hale's hat, moving round it? It is practically impossible to open the mind by imparting to it knowledge, and the use of its faculties, without giving, directly or indirectly, religious instruction. It is but deception to attempt it. The Manchester Association should know better than most people, that parents in the working class have not the time, nor the ability to give their children the religious instruction they would wish to give them; and that the children are, of necessity, called off from the day-school to the factory, or to employment in which they can earn, or learn to earn, some wages, at so early an age that there is no time to give them a double course of education, a secular and

a religious apart from each other, and at distinct hours and places of attendance. Dancing may be taught in that way, but not religion. Secular and religious instruction are naturally inseparable, and must either go on together, under the same instructor, and at the same hours, or the religious instruction must be made a secondary branch of national education, and will either be dropped altogether, or given very imperfectly, if disunited from that moral and physical knowledge, which is the illustration of religion. Is the Manchester Association prepared to answer for the consequences of such a mighty revolution in society, as that of disconnecting religion from morality? They must necessarily propose to exclude moral instruction from their schools for the people, as well as religious instruction, for the two are inseparably connected in the human mind. No secular education can be imagined that has not a reference to the union of moral and religious principles, and knowledge, at every step. If secular and religious education could be given separately, both would be failures as national education. The restraints of law are feeble enough for the protection of society from vice and immorality, yet this scheme of national education would remove the only other restraint upon the evil propensities of our nature, — the union of moral and religious instruction with all secular instruction, and education of mind, preparatory to the individual, whatever be his class or rank, entering into social action with his fellowmen. It is this union alone which gives to law its sanctity, and holds society together. It is a singular inconsistency in those who advocate the separation of secular from religious education, that although they call themselves a liberal party, they do not consult

or refer to those most interested, and best entitled to a voice in the question, — to the people, to the parents themselves. They would legislate for them in the education of their children, without asking their opinions, — exactly on the principle of the despotic functionary-government of Prussia or France, although the fruits of this continental system of national education, under government interference, are the reverse of encouraging. If they would consult the common sense of the people, and poll the country, or Manchester itself, for the sentiments and wishes of the parents themselves, male and female, they would find that what the people require and demand is, exactly what they propose to exclude from the education of children, — a religious education in all branches of knowledge, and the capability of reading the Bible with intelligence and ease, as the text-book in which their children have been taught to read. The outcry of "godless colleges" met, even in Ireland, with the contempt it deserved from the classes of the Irish population, for whom those colleges were instituted. Common sense triumphed over bigotry, from the plain reason that the youth of an age to avail themselves of those places of instruction, are already instructed, and imbued from infancy in the creed and doctrines of their own church, and require no religious instruction at the universities. But the outcry of "godless schools" for their children would, from the right feeling and good sense of the people, reduce the proposed secular schools to warehouses of empty benches. The children who should fill them are just of the age in which religious sentiments and knowledge ought to be instilled, and connected with all the moral principles of conduct, and all the know-

ledge of the past or present history of man, and the physical world around him, which the infant mind can comprehend. To leave out religious instruction at this age, as the principal object of education, and place it in the estimation of the child himself on the footing of a secondary object, like music, dancing, drawing, to be acquired at odd hours, or if the attention and memory had already been fagged by work at the factory, or learning tasks in the secular school, to be acquired with disgust, as an encroachment upon the child's hours of recreation and play, would not be a happy experiment even in a single family. As a system of national education extended over all families, it would be a system of general demoralisation. The main objection to using the Bible as a text-book for teaching children to read, and maintaining the present junction of religious and secular education under the same teacher, is that the Roman Catholic population object to the use of the Bible at all by the people; and each religious sect among Protestants wishes his own catechism, confession of faith, and other formulæ to be taught exclusively to their children. But the Bible is the common root of all Christianity. If the Roman Catholics are right, Protestants are wrong; and the nation should turn Roman Catholic, and tolerate no other schools or doctrines than those approved of by the Roman Catholic clergy. There is no middle course between the two, in just reasoning on national institutions for education. If, however, in all national affairs and institutions, the minority, however large, must give up to the majority, no sound reason can be stated why the foundation of the religion of the majority, — the Bible — should be abandoned, to suit the opinions or

prejudices of the minority. The Roman Catholics are free to establish schools for their own children; so are Presbyterians, and all other sects. If there is to be a national religion, or peculiar form of Christianity in the country, there is no shadow of reason why that national religion or form should not be taught and supported by a national education in conformity with it. The argument may be good as against any national religion or peculiar form of Christianity being established by a state: but, as long as it is there, it must be faithfully supported, and not weakened by any deceptive state-arrangement. The argument is still better as against any interference of Government at all in the education of the people; and, in reality, with a free press, and, considering how very secondary, in our social state, the school education is in the actual education of mind among our population, there is no necessity for any such interference. The people are educating themselves. The voluntary principle is, and always will be, superior to any principle of state establishment or encouragement. There is no deficiency of teachers, male and female, in the country; and unless Government could, as on the Continent, interdict all tuition except by their examined and licensed corporation of national schoolmasters, the people would always send their children to be taught to read in the little schools in which the Bible is the text-book. The low qualifications, the small amount of knowledge among those ordinary day-school teachers is practically no obstruction at all to their teaching the elements of knowledge well, and even better than more educated persons. None teach so well as those who are but a little way beyond their scholars: and Newton himself would probably

have been a very unsuccessful teacher of the elements of arithmetic. The Bible will ever be the text-book preferred both by children and parents, because, simply as a literary work it is the most fascinating, entertaining, and instructive to all ages and classes. Its divine origin might very safely be asserted upon its literary superiority to all works the human mind has ever produced, in poetry, history, or philosophy. In our social state, the agitation for national schools on the continental system appears to be unnecessary. It is not so in countries like Denmark, altogether agricultural, and with no such means or instrumentality acting on the mind and faculties, as in England and America. Here, school education is the only education the mind can receive; and here it has been eminently beneficial. The state has wisely avoided the tyrannical step of the German governments, of making school attendance compulsory, and the dangerous step of placing all education in the hands of a licensed corporate body of teachers. It is quite free to any one who pleases to open a school; and to parents to send their children to school or not, as they please. If the young people are sufficiently instructed to receive confirmation from the clergyman, or to stand an examination for admission as students at the university, where or how they acquired their instruction is not asked. Government has provided schools, and highly qualified and well-paid teachers, but invests them with no monopoly of teaching, no powers as a corporate body, and keeps them distinct from, and unconnected with the professional body in the university. Owing to these differences, the educational system in Denmark has worked much more beneficially for the people, and safely for the government, than the system of Prussia or France.

CHAP. XV.

COPENHAGEN A MODERN CITY. — PALACE OF CHRISTIANSBORG. — COPENHAGEN AND EDINBURGH. — MORE LITERARY ACTIVITY IN COPENHAGEN. —NEWSPAPERS. — DRAMATIC PRODUCTION. —THE THEATRE IN COPENHAGEN.

COPENHAGEN is not to be reckoned among the ancient cities of Europe. It was but a fishing village in the last half of the twelfth century, when Valdemar I. made a present of the place and some adjoining land to Axel Hvite, renowned as Bishop Absalon in the Danish history of that age, who, in 1168, erected a castle, which he called Axelhuus, on the spot on which the palace of Christiansborg now stands. The haven was protected by the castle from the pirates of the Baltic, who issued from the pagan, or imperfectly christianised, countries of Courland, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, then occupied by the Vends, a Slavonic tribe, and who, before the rise of Lubeck and the Hanseatic League, preyed upon the merchant vessels which traded in that sea. The protection of the castle made the haven a place of great resort of merchants — hence the name Kiobenhavn, a contraction of Kiobmændshavn or merchantmen's haven — and the village at the landing place grew to be a town. Bishop Absalon bestowed the castle, town, and adjacent town, on the see of Roeskilde. About the middle of the thirteenth century, the inhabitants obtained for their growing village the rights and privileges of a town from their feudal superior Bishop Erlendson of Roeskilde, and these were confirmed and augmented in 1284 by king Eric Glypping (the

winker). It was not before 1443 that the Crown, after a struggle of more than two centuries, obtained possession from the see of Roeskilde of the town and castle, by purchase or exchange of land, and Christopher of Bavaria was the first Danish sovereign who made Copenhagen the royal residence and capital of the kingdom, instead of Roeskilde. There are no buildings or remains from the early period of the town. The houses, as in almost all the ancient towns in the north of Europe, were of wooden frames filled up with bricks, or, more usually, with clay plastered upon wattles, and the roofs were of straw thatch. Few old structures are to be found, because stone was not the building material. The only stones in the country are the rounded granite boulders found in or upon the soil. These are used in the foundation tier of the most ancient churches and dwelling houses, but they cannot be brought together without good roads and strong carts, and could not be split or chipped into flat surfaces for walls, without better tools and greater skill than the age possessed. The numerous fires and bombardments to which this city, more than any in Europe, has been subject, have not left a fragment of what can be called an ancient edifice of the middle ages. Copenhagen, however, has risen from her ashes more beautiful from having been consumed, and is now one of the handsomest of modern cities. The view of Copenhagen, from without, is not beautiful or picturesque. It is situated on flat low ground, and, in the distance, the huge uncouth palace of Christiansborg stands, like an elephant in a menagerie of small animals, overwhelming the effect of all around it, yet with no effect itself. The sky-line of this

monster edifice is a roof, like the shell of a tortoise, covering in the building, and unrelieved by tower or pinnacle, or any object breaking its dish-cover appearance. The traveller finds the interior of the city better than he expected from the distant view, in which all appears small and insignificant beside the huge pile. The streets in general are wide and airy, and although there are no squares, like those in our cities, laid out in garden walks, green plots, and borders planted with shrubs and flowers, and surrounded with first-class houses, there are large, open, market-places, at short distances, which serve as well, or perhaps better, than our planted squares for the healthy ventilation of the town. Into two of these large market places, Amagartorf and Kongen's Nytorf, almost all the streets converge, as into two distinct centres, and the street connecting the two, Oster Gade, about a quarter of a mile in length, is the principal thoroughfare in Copenhagen, and the most fashionable shop-street. East and north in this city seem to refer to some other authority than the compass. Oster Gade, east street, is rather in the western than the eastern quarter of the city, and Norre Gade leads to what, per compass, is the north-eastern gate of the rampart. These streets have probably taken their departure orginally from some point, such as the castle or the haven, from which their easting and northing was reckoned. Copenhagen is an exception to the generally true remark, that, in all towns, the most fashionable streets, and the mansions of the wealthy classes, are built, as by general instinct, to the westward of the old streets and buildings; and the reason usually given for this tendency to build in the west end, is that westerly winds being

most prevalent in Europe, the smoke, fog, and dust of large cities are avoided by those who live to windward. In Copenhagen, the best streets, and the mansions of the nobility and the wealthy, are to the east and north of the main body of the city. The streets are but partially provided with side pavements for foot passengers, and these are narrow, and interrupted with cellar trap-doors. The drainage is bad; the site of the town being on flat, level ground, very little elevated above the water of the Baltic, which, having no ebb and flood, affords no regular outfall for the drains. The town on the whole, however, is sweeter and cleaner than Edinburgh. It is also much better supplied with water, and the labouring class is much better lodged.

Copenhagen and Edinburgh afford many points of comparison with each other, and I shall, in subsequent notes, follow out the comparison, as subjects occur to me. The traveller, like the philosopher engaged in more important researches, will best arrive at just conclusions by comparing the unknown with the known, the towns, the country, the social arrangements, new and unknown to him, with what is familiar to him at home. Copenhagen and Edinburgh are cities of about the same population. The composition of society, also, is similar in both. Neither of the two can be called a commercial or manufacturing city, although the trade of each is very considerable. The commercial or manufacturing interest is not, as in Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, the main and predominant element in society. Both cities are capitals, or chief seats of civil administration, courts of law, and various departments of public business, for populations of about equal amount,

Scotland and Denmark having each about a million and a half of people, and the expenditure of income by professional men, lawyers, and those connected with the public business of the country, and by private gentlemen of no business who have retired with moderate fortunes, gives the chief means of subsistence to the greater part of the inhabitants in both; each city, also, is the centre of education, fashion, conveniencies, and luxuries, from which country towns and populations are supplied, and is a kind of entrepôt, rather than a manufacturing city. A literary tone predominates in a society so composed, although the individuals composing it may not be literary men. They are men of exercised minds, and thus Copenhagen and Edinburgh resemble each other in the numbers, composition, means of subsistence, and general character of the social body in each. It is remarkable enough that in the capital of the most absolute monarchy in Europe, according to its ground principle, the influences of education and of public opinion on government, are more efficient than in any of the most liberally constituted monarchies on the Continent: and, in private society, the man of talent in literature or the fine arts stands on a footing of greater equality with, or rather of greater superiority over, the mere nobleman, functionary, or man of wealth, than in any other city. Holberg, Thorwaldsen, Ohlenschläger, and of living witnesses, Oersted, H. C. Andersen, Frederika Bremer, could bear testimony to this peculiar trait of civilisation and intellectual culture in the Danish capital; and in this also its social state is similar to that of Edinburgh. The literary corps in Copenhagen appears to be as numerous and as active as that of

the Scottish capital. Its members produce on an average of years about seventeen periodical works, and about twenty-one weekly and daily newspapers, and these are supported principally by town readers, for every little country place has its own newspaper. Edinburgh scarcely supports a daily paper, and, but for the country circulation, the weekly, or twice a week Edinburgh newspapers could scarcely subsist. The periodical crops in the fields of literature vary considerably, no doubt, from year to year in amount and value; but the literary men of Copenhagen publish at least as many works, and of as high pretensions, in the course of a year, as appear from the Edinburgh press. A new poem, the epic, for instance, of Palludan Müller, entitled Adam Homo, said to be of singular merit, is not so rare a phenomenon as it would be in Edinburgh. Instead of our one lackadaisical Scotch drama, in a hundred years—"Douglas a tragedy,"—the literature of Denmark boasts of between thirty and forty comedies of Holberg, which have, for a hundred years, furnished plots, situations, incidents, and characters to French, German, and English dramatic freebooters; and of such tragic dramas, in our times, as "Palnatoke," "Earl Hacon," "Axel and Valborg," and other masterpieces of Ohlenschläger. New dramas are brought out every season at the Theatre Royal; and the merits and demerits of a new comedy, which lately appeared, are being discussed so earnestly in all company, and in clubs and newspapers, that a traveller might fancy himself in London, in the days of Addison, when the wits and critics assembled at a favourite coffee-room to talk of the new play. The theatre in Denmark is an important social

element. The taste of the public has been formed by its dramatic writers Holberg and Ohlenschläger. No town or village is without its club of amateur performers. Theatrical amusement in Edinburgh is in little demand, and one very small house can scarcely be supported, and depends more upon travellers or strangers than on the inhabitants. In Copenhagen, three or more theatres are always in activity, are always well filled, and the Theatre Royal, in the Kongen's Nytorf, is a large building. There are few families of the middle class in Copenhagen who do not take season-tickets for one night or two nights in the week. The abonnement for a month or a quarter, for certain nights in the week, is cheaper considerably and less troublesome than sending for tickets. Money is not taken at the doors of the Theatre Royal at the hour of opening, which is six o'clock, the performance beginning at half past six. You send for your ticket in the morning between eleven and two o'clock. Your ticket is numbered, and your seat bears the same number, and stands vacant for you, however full the house may be and at whatever time you choose to come. This is the arrangement in the pit and parquet as well as in the boxes. Another peculiarity of the Danish theatre is that, when the curtain is drawn up, the chandelier which lights the body of the house is drawn up also, leaving the audience in comparative obscurity, and all the light is thrown on the stage. These little circumstances show what a serious business is made of theatrical matters here, and how much they enter into daily life. The profession of the actor is in much higher esteem here than in England. Respectable young men who have studied

law, theology, or medicine, at the University — Ohlenschläger, for example, and several whom he mentions in his Memoirs — try their talents on the stage for a season, and return to their professions, or continue, according to their success, without more derogation or loss of character than if they had come before the public with a course of lectures or a new book. The profession in England has never recovered from the moral taint it contracted in the age of Charles II.; and while individual members of it are justly esteemed for their private virtues and admirable conduct in every relation of life, the body of actors receive no regard or esteem from the public on account of their profession. It may be that the practical character of the English people, who always look for permanent results from time and exertion in any way employed, may not be inclined to estimate very highly a profession of which the effects or productions are so evanescent, and are only attained by a considerable sacrifice of personal delicacy and dignity on the part of the actor, who appears in character, thoughts, and garb, not his own, for the pleasure of others. The Danish people are not so fastidious, and the conduct of the profession has never connected it, in the public mind, with vice, imprudence, or misconduct. The influence and social importance of the drama in Denmark may be conceived when we are told that the circulating libraries in the country exceed six hundred, and that there is not a population in a small town, street, or village, supporting a circulating library, which may not be reckoned as comprising, also, an amateur club, or society, for theatrical representation. The literature of Denmark is so intimately connected with this

general dramatic spirit of the people, that it cannot be considered separately. It is the most difficult task, perhaps, of the traveller to enter into and give an idea of the spirit of the popular literature of a country; for it requires not merely a knowledge of the language, but an acquaintance with the spirit, character, and manners of the people. The following observations, therefore, are given more as the impressions of a traveller from a cursory and imperfect view of the subject, or as suggestions for others to follow out in their own visits to this interesting little country, than as well-founded opinions to be received without further examination.

CHAP. XVI.

DANISH LITERATURE — SAGA. — THE FÀRÓ ISLANDS. — THE NIEBELUNG'S NOT.—VINLAND OR AMERICA IN A BALLAD OF THE FÆRO ISLANDS. — DANISH CHARACTER AND LANGUAGE. — DANISH LAW ADMINISTERED IN DANISH. — LANGUAGE PRESERVED UNMIXED WITH LATIN IDIOMS. — DRAMATIC SPIRIT OF DANISH LITERATURE. —HOLBERG.— GOLDSMITH.—DANISH NOVELS.—THE BETROTHAL GIVES THE NOVELIST SUBJECTS NOT KNOWN TO OUR NOVELISTS. — EDUCATION OF NATIONS, LIKE THEIR POLITICAL ECONOMY, DETERMINED BY NATURAL CIRCUMSTANCES PECULIAR TO EACH. — EFFORTS OF THE DANISH GOVERNMENT TO EDUCATE THE PEOPLE — IN CATHOLIC TIMES. — ROMANCE-CHRONICLE S OF INGEMANN — OF CARL BERNARD. — A NEW CLASS OF ROMANCES OF FEUDAL TIMES. — CIRCULATING LIBRARIES IN DENMARK. — FACILITIES IN SENDING BOOKS BY POST FIRST ADOPTED BY DENMARK. —POWER OF PUBLIC OPINION IN DENMARK.

THE Saga in the Icelandic, or old Scandinavian tongue, of which the historical have been connected together by Snorro Sturleson into the Heimskringla, or Chronicle of the kings of Norway, were undoubtedly the popular literature of the whole Scandinavian population in the pagan times, which, in all that regards the mind and spirit of the mass of the people, may be considered as extending far down into the twelfth century. This literature was not scanty. Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote his Latin history at the court of Valdemar I., at Roeskilde, in Denmark, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, has evidently had before him historical saga different from those used by his contemporary Snorro, in writing his history of the kings of Norway, about the same period, at Reikholt, in Iceland. The two historians had evidently, in the beginning of the thirteenth cen-

tury, different materials upon the same subjects to write from. Saxo had a series of Danish, and Snorro of Norwegian or Icelandic saga, to compose from in the same age. Which account of the same transactions and persons is the most correct, is of less importance than the proof which the difference affords, of a variety of saga relative to ancient events being in circulation in Denmark as well as in Iceland.

The abundance, in the middle ages, of such oral literature in the tongues cognate to the Icelandic, is shown by the great mass of traditional poetry, still circulating in the ballad form, in the dialect of the Færo isles, — a dialect which, until recently has not been reduced to writing. In the royal library of Copenhagen there is, in manuscript, a collection of ballads of the Færo islands (Færoiske Kuayir) committed to writing, in 1782, by I. C. Svaboe, from the *vivâ voce* recital of the inhabitants. The collection contains fifty-two pieces. Besides this collection, H. C. Lyngbye collected, translated into Danish, and published in 1822, a great number of ballads relative to Sigurd Fafnirsbane and his race, and which are interesting to the literary antiquary, because this Sigurd and his exploits are identical with the Siegfrid, and the personages, action, and story of the great Teutonic poem the Niebelungen's Not. In the literary dispute, whether the great epic of the Niebelungen is of Teutonic or Scandinavian origin, it is an important fact, that, besides the incidents and characters of the story, given in Icelandic in the Edda, the Norna Gest Saga, and the Volsunga Saga, great fragments of the Niebelungen exist in the oral state at the present day in this remote locality, and in the even to our times unwritten dialect of these

islands; and no trace of the poem in a traditionary state is now to be found in any part of Germany. The language in which these fragments of the Niebelungens Lied, and other ballads, are circulated, is a dialect of the old Icelandic, approaching nearer to the old Norse spoken in some of the remote valleys of Norway, than to the modern cultivated Danish. The Scotchman acquainted with the vulgar tongue of the fishermen on the northern coast of Scotland, will find many words of this old dialect familiar to him in sound and sense, although not recognised at first by the eye when presented to him in print, owing to the different way of spelling the same sounds in Danish and English. In the splendid work, the "Antiquitates Americanæ," published at Copenhagen, in 1837, one of the ballads is given in Færoese, from M. Svaboe's manuscript collection. It is adduced to prove that in the Saga period, or at least in the early period of the middle ages, America (Vinland) was known, or had a place in the poetry of the North, as a country over the sea from Iceland. The date of the ballad not being certainly known, or discoverable from any internal data, its value, as an historical proof, is not great. It only proves that, at some unknown date, the name of Vinland was popularly given to some unknown land. But this ballad, although devoid of historical value or poetical merit, is a curious, and, to the antiquary, an interesting specimen of the devices used for aiding the memory to retain and deliver long pieces of poetry, before the art of writing was in general use, but after the alliterative versification of the Scalds, or the repetition of the same initial letter or syllable, at certain fixed places in each line and stanza, had been abandoned for the more harmonious

terminal rhimes. In this ballad two lines of the preceding stanza are almost always reiterated before entering on a new subject and stanza, as a help or catch-word to aid the memory; and the same circumstances are, as by Homer, always given in the same words.

The inhabitants of the Færo isles must be a very remarkable people. Living on the outer edge of the civilised world, rarely visited in their island-homes by vessels passing over the Northern Atlantic, rarely visiting other lands, these 6928 individuals, — for that, according to the last census of the Danish dominions, is the total population of the Færo isles, — must now, in the nineteenth century, represent very faithfully the intellectual state of the people of the middle ages. That state may not have been so low as we generally suppose. A certain intellectual character, a certain taste and feeling for poetry, however rude, a social pre-eminence voluntarily accorded to the talent or memory that could compose, or remember, and recite what gratified this taste and feeling, and a desire, in every generation, to attain this pre-eminence, must have been in vigorous existence in the middle ages, and must have been inherited by the Færoese people from their ancestors, and be in great vigour even at the present day, or these traditionary poems, in their but recently written dialect, could not have been preserved. When we talk of the greater intellectuality of our times produced by the general diffusion of education, and of the art of printing, we mean the greater amount of information or knowledge diffused among men, not the greater amount of intellectual power. Those — knowledge and mental power — may be, in some ages,

and in some social states, and in some individuals, in an inverse ratio to each other. It would not be easy to point out any locality at the present day in Great Britain, or on the Continent, in which an isolated group of seven thousand inhabitants has the intellectual power among them to commit to memory, to teach, and to learn, and the intellectual taste, — intellectual, however rude the compositions which gratify it, — to appreciate or to find pleasure in such a mass of oral traditionary literature as now circulates in the Færo isles.

The inhabitants of Jutland and Sleswick, and indeed of all the Danish islands, are as far removed, in their ordinary state of existence, from the influences of intercourse with other people, as the inhabitants of the Færo isles. They retain much of ancient character and spirit, and, of all the people of Europe, they come nearest to the ideal of the men of the middle ages. Brave, loyal, devoted to their leaders in the field, rough almost to savageness in Jutland, honest, single-minded, resolute, they are men of three centuries ago, rather than of our age. A great mass of local traditions, songs, ballads, and legends, connected more or less with historical events since the thirteenth century, is floating about in this population, especially in the peninsula, which was the scene of unceasing warfare between the barons, the counts of Holstein, and the kings of Denmark. This has been, and still in a great measure is, the literature of the people, has formed their character, and is preserved in their own Danish language.

Saxo, unfortunately, wrote in very elegant Latin, and to write and speak Latin elegantly and classically became in Denmark, as in Germany, the great aim of

all men of learning. Latin was the language of the church, the universities, the schools; and the learned wrote, spoke, and thought in Latin only; and down to the time of Christian IV., the contemporary and brother-in-law of our James I., statesmen, civil functionaries, and even military commanders, communicated with each other in Latin. In Denmark the native language was simply neglected, and left to the use of the unlearned, without any attempt to assimilate the native idiom and construction of the Danish to the Latin. The German language was not so fortunate. The learned could not avoid all verbal intercourse and communication with the unlearned, and they latinised the one old Teutonic, which appears from the Niebelungen's Lied, and the lays of the Minnesängers attributed to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to have been more like the present Platt Deutsch, than the cultivated German, in its formation. This latinisation of the old Teutonic, or original German language, whether from the affectation of the learned, and from their dread of losing the pure latinity of their style, or perhaps from their being so accustomed from infancy to think and express thought in Latin, that they naturally introduced the Latin idiom and construction of sentences into the vulgar tongue when they were obliged to use it, has been, whatever was the origin of it, one of the greatest evils to society and to literature that Europe has inherited from the middle ages. In Germany it has formed, as remarked in several previous Notes, two distinct languages of classes among the German people claiming to be of one race and country—a latinised, or cultivated German, for the higher classes, and an ancient, unlatinised German,

the Platt Deutsch, for the middle and lower classes, and the two almost unintelligible to each other. The mixture of such differently constructed languages as the Latin and the German, has been an unhappy adulteration for literature, as well as for social polity. With the greatest power and freedom of any modern language, in the formation, from its own resources, of new words for expressing every modification of meaning in philosophy, science, or sentiment, the cultivated German is more bound down and fettered than any modern language in the collocation of words, or what is called style. The preposition or participle must be disjoined from the verb, and must, by the rigid usage and grammatical construction of the language, come draggling in at the tail of the sentence long after the hearer has caught the full meaning of the speaker. The German language is, on this account, ill adapted for oratory. In reading, the rapid organ, the eye, is not so sensible of this defect in German, as the ear is in listening to a public speaker who has to pronounce a tail of words after his meaning has been fully conveyed to his audience, in order to complete the grammatical construction of the sentence. It would be the highest presumption in a foreigner, however conversant with the German language, to venture upon such an observation on his own knowledge or authority, but the two greatest masters of the language, Goethe and Jean Paul Richter, complain of this inherent defect in their native tongue, and ascribe it to the too great latinisation of the cultivated German, which took place when Latin was the universal medium of communication among the learned of Europe, and especially, and to a later period than in other countries, in Germany.

The Latin construction and collocation of words in a sentence were insensibly carried into the vulgar tongue, as the German was then considered, by the educated classes who condescended, or were obliged, to use it, but who thought in Latin; and thus the Latin construction was superinduced upon a language of a different formation, spirit, and character, from the Latin. The chancery style (Kantzelei Stiil) in composition, the long-winded, interminable sentences with all the collateral ideas that can be impressed into the service embarked into the same paragraph with the main idea, and which was adopted from the law Latin of the middle ages, was a dead weight upon literary composition, style, or the way of thinking and expressing thought in German, until Hagedorn, Rabener, Gellert, Wieland, arose and threw it off. Goethe and Richter complain of the grammatical obstacles and difficulty, from the usage and structure of the language, even to them, to attain brevity, terseness, and distinctness of style.

The Danish escaped this division into two languages — one for the people and one for the upper classes — and, like the English, is essentially the same in the mouth of prince or peasant, with the difference only, as in English, of obsolete or provincial words, expressions, tones of voice and pronunciation, between the educated and the ignorant classes. Danish is, like English, rich in poetical language, that is, in words appropriated to poetry, derived from the olden time, understood by all, and perhaps most readily by the provincial and uneducated population, but not used, on ordinary occasions, by prose writers.

This unity of their language has been of great service to the Danish nation in the late war. Ger-

man writers upon it, such as the general staff officer whose pamphlet is quoted in a former Note, do not hesitate to ascribe the success of the small Danish army, their unity of movement and combinations, and their common feeling for their cause, to the men and officers speaking the same language, and the perfect intelligence between them produced by this unity of tongue. It has created also what, in the truest sense, is a national literature. Every work published in the Danish language is intelligible to every Dane. Goethe, Schiller, Richter, and all the eminent German writers, might have written in Greek, as far as regards the mass of the German population, who have, in reality, to learn a strange language to understand their own authors. This nationality of the Danish people in language and spirit, formed in the age when the language and spirit of the German people were becoming less and not more national, may be ascribed to two causes.

First. To the downfall in the Revolution of 1660 of the two classes, the nobility and clergy, who from fashion, affectation, or pedantry, used the French or the Latin in preference to their native tongue. In the numerous little states and courts of Germany these classes had influence enough for almost a century after 1660 to suppress the use of German in the higher circles of society. Frederick the Great, and many of the nobility about the minor German courts, could not speak German. It had been banished from their hearing in their infancy, that the purity of their French accent might not be contaminated. The upper class, even in country towns, affected to speak French, intermingled their German with French words, and brought up their families in ignorance of

their own language. In Denmark, that great king, Christian IV., in the same age, encouraged the use of the Danish in his court and dominions, and wrote and spoke it habitually.

Secondly. The law book of Christian V., promulgated in the Danish language only, gave importance to the language in which alone law was administered, and it diffused the language among all classes. It is one of the anomalies which must puzzle the politieal philosopher, and overturns all theory, that the most popular and liberal code of laws in Europe, equal for all men, and intelligible to all, succinct, clear, and just in its enactments, favouring no class, and almost democratic in its principles and administration, should have been given to his subjects by the most absolute sovereign in Europe, and one reckoned the most tyrannical of his times, Christian V. No race of kings, in modern history, has produced so many individuals of strong decided character as the expiring royal dynasty of Denmark; and the most weak and tyrannical of them to the courtiers and nobles around the throne, have left memorials of an active zeal for improving the condition of the people. A history of the autocratic government of Denmark since 1660, would be a curious and important chapter in a history of the progress since that date among the European people, of freedom, civil rights, equal law, liberal institutions, and the influence of public opinion on state affairs.

As a language of modern literature, Danish cannot claim an earlier date than about 1720, the same nearly as that of the modern literature of Germany. Holberg was the first writer who purified, polished, and fixed the Danish language as it now stands, and,

in his numerous works, brought it to an excellence which later writers have not surpassed. He was one of the most remarkable men of his times. He was born at Bergen, in Norway, in 1684. His father, according to some accounts, was a private soldier, but according to Holberg's own account, he was a colonel, who had risen from the station of a private soldier. Every man should know best what his own father was, but, if I were Holberg's biographer, I would consider Holberg's account the least credible. It is given in a kind of autobiography which a person of quality had desired Holberg to send him of his life, and Holberg appears to have had the weakness, not uncommon among authors in his times, of being ashamed of his original station in life, and of wishing to be thought connected with rank and nobility. When he grew rich, he not only got himself ennobled and created a baron, but left his large estates, by a public deed executed in his lifetime, to endow a college at Soroe for the sons of nobility only. If his father had been a private soldier, his advancement, in those days, to the rank of officer, would have been very marvellous, for cadets, or gentlemen-volunteers serving as private soldiers, but without pay, in every regiment, were entitled by the standing rule of all services in that age, to promotion to any vacancy. Besides, if his father had been an officer, he, as an officer's son, was already noble, and required no patent of nobility to entitle him to prefix the Von to his name, and to purchase baronial estates. Holberg came to Copenhagen in 1702, with such acquirements as a grammar school at Bergen, and his own efforts at self-education gave, and these enabled him to pass his examinations at the university with credit, and to

earn a living as tutor in a family. When he had amassed the sum of sixty dollars (about seven pounds sterling) he set out on his travels, and came by sea to Amsterdam. He carried with him a smattering of French and Italian, and some musical talents, and trusted for subsistence to his earnings as a teacher. With six dollars in his pocket, he walked from Amsterdam to Aix-la-chapelle, where he remained three weeks, and then returned to Holland, — living and travelling as Oliver Goldsmith is said to have lived and travelled some years after, by his musical talent in playing the flute. Holberg visited England in his peregrinations, and lived for a year and a half at Oxford, supporting himself by teaching music and French, passing his leisure hours in study in the Bodleian library, or in good society. His engaging appearance, and manners, and his cheerful disposition, appear, by his own account, to have gained him many friends at Oxford, and the gentlemen of Magdalen College, he says, offered to contribute a sum to defray his travelling expenses on his departure, and which he declined. On his return to Copenhagen, he was appointed to a professorship, grew wealthy by the sale of his numerous and popular works, which he conducted himself without the intervention of a publisher or bookseller, was created a baron in 1747, and died, seventy years of age, in 1754.

The coincidence in the early part of Holberg's life — the poor travelling student, with six dollars in his pocket, and earning his subsistence on the road, "beside the lazy Schelde," by playing music at the peasants' doors, in the evenings, — with the early life of Goldsmith, and with Goldsmith's account of George in the Vicar of Wakefield, supposed to refer to his

own adventures, — the going to Amsterdam to teach the Dutch people French, without considering that he must first understand Dutch to teach them, and the making the tour of Europe on foot without money — is so remarkable, that one cannot help suspecting that Goldsmith's biographers have made some mistake, and have ascribed to Goldsmith himself incidents and situations which he was only relating of Holberg, or transferring from Holberg into his novel. Goldsmith knew those incidents and situations in Holberg's life, for he published them in "An Inquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe. London, 1759." Goldsmith says, "Without money, recommendations, or friends, he (Holberg) undertook to set out upon his travels, and make the tour of Europe on foot. A good voice, and a trifling skill in music were the only finances he had to support an undertaking so extensive; so he travelled by day, and at night sung at the doors of peasants' houses to get himself a lodging. In this manner young Holberg passed through France, Germany, and Holland, and, coming over to England, took up his residence for two years in the university of Oxford." It is not likely that two such men as Holberg and Goldsmith should have travelled and lived on the road in the same way, without the latter intimating, if he could with truth do so, that he too had made the same tour on foot, and had depended on the same financial means on the road as Holberg. The coincidence is too great for the circumstances to have occurred in the lives of two authors within a short period of each other, and justifies the doubt whether Goldsmith's biographers have not adopted, from Holberg's life, the account of Goldsmith's tour of Europe on foot, and his playing

at night on his flute "at the doors of peasants' houses to get himself a lodging." Holberg was a musician, and of prepossessing appearance, and lively, cheerful manners, master also of French and low Dutch, and might struggle through France and Germany in the way Goldsmith describes, but that Goldsmith himself did so, with none of those advantages, except, perhaps, some small proficiency in blowing the flute, appears incredible.

Holberg was, like Goldsmith, a man of great and various intellectual powers. His mock-heroic poem, Peder Paars, is in every house in Denmark. It surpasses in humour, invention, and spirit, in the opinion of German, as well as of Danish critics, the Lutrin of Boileau, or the Pucelle d'Orleans of Voltaire. Being no critic, and not judging from comparison, I find it merely a good parody on the classical Epic, bringing in, comically enough, all the machinery of the gods and goddesses, on the occasion of Peder Paars's journey to Kallundborg to visit his festemoe, or betrothed. There may be much ingenuity, but there is little wit, now-a-days, in parodying an obsolete system of poetic expression, which is itself a parody on poetic sentiment and language. In Holberg's time, however, the Muses, and Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, Minerva, and all the rest of the classical mythology, were still effective troops in the realm of Parnassus, standing at the head and front of every poem, occupying many a page, and driving from it the stoutest readers. Niels Kliim, or the world below ground, has been translated into every language, and is, perhaps, next to Robinson Crusoe, the favourite book of English schoolboys. Holberg wrote also an Universal History, a History of Denmark still considered one of the most valuable

historical works in the language, and an Introduction to the Law of Nature and Nations highly esteemed by jurists as a work developing philosophical and correct views of law, government, oaths, obligations, and which, together with his Introduction to the History of the States of Europe, continued to be class-room and school books, until recently. His comedies, between thirty and forty in number, are the works by which Holberg purified the taste, and gave precision and elegance to the language of his country, and which justly entitle him to be called the father of its literature, and of which the spirit and influence are visible and predominant at the present day, in all intellectual movement or compositions. A dramatic vein runs through all the imaginative productions of the Danish writers. Holberg's mantle has been inherited by them all. The plots and situations of the popular modern tales and novels are eminently dramatic, the incidents and characters are developed in dialogue, rather than in narrative, of what the personages said or did, and many of them could be adapted to the theatre without other alteration than in the form of the story. This appears to me the general character of the popular and ingenious tales or novels,—"En Hverdag's Historie—an Every Day Story,"—and of the "Skrifter of Forfatteren til En Hverdag's Historie—Writings of the author of an Every Day Story,"—edited by Professor Heiberg, but supposed to be the productions of a female pen, and which create a great sensation at present in the literary circles of Copenhagen. They are racy, truthful sketches of domestic life, manners, and society, in Denmark, similar to Miss Bremer's illustrations of

Swedish life, in her novels, with perhaps more of dramatic art, and less talent, in the composition.

The novel writer in Denmark has an element in domestic modern life to give interest, or entanglement, to his tale, which the English or French writers, and readers, are unacquainted with. The betrothal is a solemn act much more imposing, and binding, than our simple engagement to marry. The betrothal is regularly a ceremonial in which rings are exchanged, and mutual acceptance before witnesses of the family friends of both parties, takes place, although the actual marriage is postponed for one, and even for several years. I have heard of parties having been betrothed above twenty years before they could afford to marry. In real life, there is both evil, and good, in this custom. Boys and girls engage themselves, exchange rings and love tokens, and conceive themselves bound together for life before they know their own minds, or circumstances, and, at a maturer age, inclination, as well as prudence, may forbid the banns. But they are betrothed; and although it may have been privately, and clandestinely, the betrothal is, in their own minds, as sacred as marriage. In our social state, an engagement is known only to the parties themselves, is in their own power altogether, and prudence, change of inclination, incompatibility of social position, or of personal tastes, and tempers, may, and in the course of almost every young man's and young woman's life, these considerations do, step in, and make "second thoughts best." The engagement is an affair of the two engaging parties in which others have no right of opinion, or their opinion no influence. The betrothal, on the other hand, is in Denmark, from the custom of the country, a kind of

public solemn act, has a kind of sanctity attached to it, more than the simple private engagement, understanding, or promise, between the parties. People may be engaged to be betrothed, although the betrothal itself is only an engagement to be married. It always precedes the marriage by a few weeks, or months, even where there is no reason to delay the ceremony, and the betrothed lady has her status in society, different from that of the bride whose marriage day is fixed, or from that of the woman already married, but it is conventionally acknowledged. The evil in real life of hasty, imprudent, unsuitable marriage engagements being made permanent at too early a period of life, and although both parties might afterwards regret having prematurely engaged themselves, may perhaps be counterbalanced by the good it produces in society. The betrothed are still lovers, still in the position of mutually paying attention, civility, kindness, to each other, of interchanging affections, of learning to know, and bear with, and even like each others' faults and foibles. This habit of living and loving together, of viewing matters in the same light, of mutually bearing, and forbearing, with each other, passes imperceptibly over from the betrothed into the married state. The husband has been formed to be the attentive kind husband, the wife to be the affectionate wife, in this preliminary school of the betrothed state in which they have been living, perhaps for several years, with attentions, kindness, and affection towards each other, which have become habitual. I ascribe very much to this apprenticeship, as it may be called, to the attentions agreeable to the female sex, the kindness, the urbanity of manners, and regard for others, that dis-

tinguish the Dane, the Norwegian, and the Swede from all other people. The betrothal has also this good in it. Vice, immoral habits, drunkenness, gaming, and all that ruins happiness in married life, cannot be concealed in this long probationary state of betrothal, and although betrothal is so strong a tie, it is not so strong as the marriage tie. Parties may and do recede from it by mutual agreement, from prudential or other causes, without the censure, and *éclat*, of a dissolution of a marriage. They renounce their mutual obligations, return their rings, and quietly cease those exclusive attentions which showed they were betrothed. It is to the effect of betrothal, that the actual dissolution of the marriage tie is so much less frequent than we might expect from the facility with which, in most Lutheran countries, a divorce may be obtained. Incompatibility of temper, confirmed disease, insanity, conviction of crime, extravagance, habits of drunkenness, of gaming, of neglect, and even a mutual agreement to be divorced persevered in after an interval of two years from the formal notice by the parties to the Consistory of the district, are grounds upon which divorce will be pronounced in the ecclesiastical court of the district, and the parties released altogether from the marriage tie, and set free to marry again. The opportunity, which the betrothal affords, of parties knowing each other, and of getting rid of each other before marriage, if any such causes as would have led to dissolution of the marriage are discovered in either party, render divorces more rare, and the great facility of divorce less nocuous in society than we might suppose. The divorce, it may be said, takes place before the marriage. Our legislature could not adopt the measure

proposed by some political philosophers, of facilitating divorces, and admitting incompatibility of temper, and other causes, besides infidelity, to be legal grounds of divorce, from the want, in our social state, of this custom of, and regard for, betrothal, by which parties know, and have experience of each others' tempers, and habits, before going to the altar. We would have more divorces than marriages; a state of morality which some capitals of Lutheran countries have, it is said, attained. The betrothal appears to be peculiar to the Scandinavian people in the sense in which it is popularly held, and to be derived not from any usage or ceremony of the church of Rome, or of the Lutheran church, but from the pagan times when the young men went regularly on a Viking cruize, or in a "leading" to the field, were often absent in England, Normandy, or on the high seas, for several years, and left their future wives with the protection of being betrothed to them. In the scenes of domestic life which the novelist frames in his imaginary combinations, and fictions resembling the possible in real life, the betrothal is an element wanting in our literature of the same class.

Ohlenschläger is in the tragic or heroic drama of Denmark what Holberg is in the comic, the genteel comic; for Holberg never falls into mere buffoonery, or farce, and, in his numerous pieces, never offends the most chaste ear by indelicate plots, situations, or jests. As Ohlenschläger wrote many of his plays originally in German, and translated his best pieces himself into German, his works are before the world in a language known to all educated men, and need not be noticed here as productions locked up in the Danish. He appears to have thrown away his great

powers in a vain attempt to introduce into literature and poetry the northern, instead of the classical mythology. But Thor, and Odin, and Freya are as little poetical as Jupiter, Mars, and Venus. All the furniture of Greek and Latin poetry has been consigned to the garret in this generation, and Apollo, the Muses, Graces, Nymphs have been invalided these hundred years in real poetry and its diction. The northern mythology, also, and the character it reared among men, are unknown to us. The religion of Odin had ceased before Christianity was introduced into Scandinavia, to be influential in society. The priests had become hereditary judges in their godards, or parishes. The Edda, from which alone anything is known of the northern mythology, was composed in the thirteenth century, by Snorro Sturleson, as a key to explain allusions in the poems of the Scalds. The older Edda is not from the times of Paganism. How little suited this mythology, or characters and situations raised upon a system and social state so little known, is calculated to please modern taste, may be gathered from the fact, that while Holberg's comedies, although founded upon conventional manners, and an artificial state of society, fill the theatres as often as they are represented, Ohlenschläger's noble dramas are rarely acted.

As every nation has a political economy of its own, formed by the physical circumstances of situation, climate, products, under which it lives, so every nation has an education, mind, literature of its own, formed by that economy, or by the circumstances which have produced it. There is a kind of natural education for every country, which ministers of state for national education and all the machinery of na-

tional schools, aided by all the influence of the press, cannot alter. The English nation, or the Scotch, never, for example, can be made, like the continental nations, a gay, light-hearted, care-free people, enjoying life and its simplest pleasures, enjoying the pleasures of refined taste in the fine arts, living in amusement, in idleness, in making trifles their business, happy in concerts, balls, theatres, or picture-galleries. The climate, the natural products, and situation of the island, and its whole social and political economy regulated by those physical circumstances, forbid such a character or constitution of mind being formed, or an education tending to form it being successful. In the agricultural countries of the Continent, and here in Denmark, such a character or mind, and the education forming it, are natural to people living under their physical circumstances, and emanate from the people themselves. In Denmark, owing to the fertility of the soil, and the social arrangements under the corporation system, population does not press so closely upon subsistence as in England, and a living is more easily gained. Without staple products but the products of husbandry, without commerce or manufactures encouraging and rearing a greater population than the land can employ and support, people have leisure to be happy, amused, and educated, here in Denmark. In England, people have not that leisure. The climate allows of all agricultural and out-of-door work being carried on in winter, with few interruptions, as well as in summer. There are no pauses of several months imposed by climate on all labour and machinery out of doors. Men can work, and our social economy, by which population presses on subsistence, obliges

men to work every day without long intermissions. This difference in the natural, the social, and the political economy of England and of the continental countries is sufficient, I conceive, to account for the difference of mind, and character, and education. The Danish Government established schools, and normal schools, and adopted all the means for diffusing education among the people almost a century before other countries; but it was only supplying a want natural to the people in their social position, and not, as in Prussia, cramming down, by legal compulsion, an education of which the people felt no want. The Danish people have a national history of which they are justly proud. The Prussian and other German people have none. This nationality has kept alive an intellectual spirit in Denmark connected with it, and created a want which the establishment of schools and the diffusion of education only followed, and did not precede or create. The antiquarian and historical knowledge connected with their own nationality is still the object to which the mind and time are chiefly applied by the educated classes in Denmark.

In the Roman Catholic times, no country in the north of Europe, not even England, was so full as Denmark of powerful Church dignitaries, bishops, abbots, priests, and of wealthy monastic establishments. In the wars of the barons, which began in the latter half of the twelfth century, after the captivity of Waldemar the Victorious, and which had the same object as the late war of 1848, viz. the dismemberment of Sleswick from the Danish Crown, and its annexation to the territories of the dukes of Holstein, the prelates took the field in full armour

at the head of their tenantry, and fought for or against the sovereign with as much bravery and as little principle as the barons. Copenhagen itself belonged to the see of Roeskilde, which was then the capital and royal residence; and everywhere in Denmark, and especially in the peninsula, the monastic establishments, for males and females, were numerous and wealthy. The inmates might not be very learned, useful, or moral; but they were always a class more intelligent and intellectual than the peasantry. The monk, even if he cannot read, belongs to a class who can, and is the organ for transmitting to the common man and to posterity the tales, traditions, scraps of history, and ballads relating to historical events and personages which are the literature of a peasantry living and labouring on the same land from generation to generation, and the descendants of the very men who witnessed or acted in the events. A manufacturing movable population has no such hereditary literature. The Danish people, long before school learning and books were known to them, had a very large stock of such history, biography, and poetry circulating among them. The pieces relative to events or personages of times previous to the first half of the eleventh century are known as Saga belonging to a Pagan or semi-Pagan period, and appear, from Saxo and Snorro Sturleson, to have formed a great mass of oral literature. But a more interesting and perhaps a greater body of legends, traditions, tales, and ballads relative to events and personages of the middle ages subsequent to the Saga period, of the times of Waldemar Seier (the Victorious), of his successes and defeats, of his good Queen Dagmar, still the favourite ideal type of all female

perfection among the Danish peasantry, of Eric of Pomerania, and his brave Queen Philippa, the sister of our Henry V., and endowed with all his popular accomplishments, are circulating now among the peasantry. Historians or antiquaries have endeavoured to give, in barbarous Latin, the succession of events in Denmark and the duchies, after the times of Saxo Grammaticus and Waldemar I.: but the poetry of those times, the graphic touches which pourtray the events and personages, the chivalry of knights, the constancy of ladies, the superstition of all classes, the way of living, the way of addressing each other, the ceremonial of intercourse, the dress, the pageantry, the splendour mixed with poverty, the tenderness with barbarity, have been preserved in the ballads and traditions of the people and in old chronicles, and have escaped the formal historians. Ingemann, the Sir Walter Scott of Danish romance, has formed of these scattered poetical fragments a literature partly historical, partly imaginative, and peculiarly Danish. He, and his imitator and almost his equal, Carl Bernhard, have opened up a field in the picturesque feudal ages which our writers of the same kind of imaginative production have overlooked. They have touched upon and worked a vein of genuine ore. The works of these two authors, especially those of Ingemann, have become house-books in Denmark, and are found on every peasant's book shelf. The same dramatic power and tact, which, it has been remarked above, are a peculiar characteristic of Danish tales and novels, and seem to be an inheritance from Holberg, predominating still in Danish mind and literature, run through these compositions of Ingemann, and probably give them that

air of reality and truthfulness which renders them so popular with the common man. The descriptions and narratives are brief and well told, where they are unavoidable; but, as on a theatre, the action, personages, and characters unfold themselves, and describe themselves by their words and deeds rather than are described. The scenes and situations are brought out graphically by the dramatic tact of the author, and he appears as seldom as possible on the scene, and his personages as often. These authors, in the plan or principle of the kind of literary composition which they have invented or made their own, are imitators rather of Shakspeare in his series of historical plays, than of Sir Walter Scott in his historical romances. Sir Walter takes an imaginary hero and story, and brings in, by well-conceived incidents, the manners of the age in which his scenes are laid, the characters and sentiments suitable to it, and even, as in "Waverley," "Quintin Durward," "Ivanhoe," "Woodstock," and other works, the historical events and royal personages of the time, as subservient to his tale. Ingemann takes the historical events, dates, personages, names, characters, incidents, as they are found in chronicles, archives, old ballads, and traditions, or tales, and fills up this historical canvas with incidents and characters of his own, so as to bring out the manners and events of the age, and the characters of those actually concerned in the events, in a representation historially true. In his pictures, historical events and personages occupy the foreground, and the background is filled up from his own imagination. In Sir Walter Scott's pictures, imaginary personages and events occupy the foreground, and the background is his-

torical. That this new field, as it may justly be called, in modern imaginative literature, in which the labours of the historian, the antiquary, and the poet are combined, may be cultivated with success; that it may, in the hands of the man of genius, produce what in all ages will be found good and agreeable to the mind, is proved by Shakespeare's suite of historical plays, which are founded on our chronicles. They are to this day the most popular history of England we have, and were probably intended by Shakespeare to be so. Thousands of readers, in every generation, have received all they know or remember of English history, from the reign of John to that of Henry VIII., from Shakespeare's historical plays. Ingemann is no Shakespeare, and, perhaps, not a Sir Walter; but he has devised a new kind of historical and imaginative literature, or revived one adopted by Shakespeare; and the genius of a writer whose works have gone through five or six editions, and are still being reprinted every year or two, among a population of only a million and a half of people, cannot be small. It is a diffusion equally honourable to the author and to the people. Has Scotland alone, independently of England and the colonies, taken for her own fire-side so many editions of Sir Walter Scott's works as Denmark has of Ingemann's? The cyclus of historical romances which have found such favour with the Danish people consists of an historical poem, "Valdemar the Great and his Men," and of the four historical romances, "Valdemar Seier," "Eric Manved's Childhood," "King Eric and the Outlaws," and "Prince Otto of Denmark and his Contemporaries." The period included in these romance-chronicles, as they may be

called, rather than historical romances, is from about the year 1204, when the tale of Valdemar, "Seier (the Victorious)," opens with a well-drawn scene and dialogue between Saxo Grammaticus and Archbishop Sunnesen of Lund, in the cloister of Roeskilde, to about 1350, when the third Valdemar obtained the crown by the renunciation of his elder brother Prince Otto, — a century and a half of anarchy, wars of barons, and assumptions of the clergy, through which a thread to lead the bewildered reader can scarcely be found elsewhere. Ingemann makes the succession of events in those wild and dark times intelligible and highly interesting. His pictures of feudal life, manners, characters, modes of living, of conversation, dress, and appearance of laity and clergy are peculiar to his works, and are read with the satisfaction of our knowing that they are as true and faithful representations as antiquarian and historical research can make them, and are not merely fancy pieces got up to appear to the reader picturesque and antique. Sir Walter Scott, it is said somewhere in his Memoirs, ascribed the failure of his imitators, in representing scenes and characters of the middle ages, to their having to read up to the subject and times they had chosen, and to make themselves acquainted with the spirit, character, and manners of the age they were going to represent as they proceeded, while he was familiar with them by previous antiquarian and historical studies. More reading has gone towards Ingemann's romances than towards the histories of many historians. They carry with them that charm of truthfulness which belongs to fiction as well as to reality. Ingemann resides at Soroe, in the island of Sealand, and is rector, I believe, of the academy

which was founded by Holberg for the education of sons of noblemen.

Carl Bernard writes "Chronicles from the times of Eric of Pomerania," and "Chronicles from the times of Christian II.," in the same class of composition as Ingemann's productions, and with great success and spirit. Carl Bernard, if I am not mistaken, is a fictitious name. The silly pride of some of our illustrious-obscure who wish to obtain a reputation in the literary world, but would hide their unknown names under names, if possible, less known than their own, has crept over to the Continent, and has reached Denmark.

The six hundred circulating libraries in Denmark require considerable supplies of fresh food for their readers; and their demands give more impulse to literary activity than appears in Edinburgh, where literature is rather passive than active, and what is produced worth publishing is generally sent to the London market. This is the reason why a greater number of publications appear in the course of the year in Copenhagen than in Edinburgh. The greater proportion are translations from French, or English, and are in every village library. Sir Walter Scott's novels are as common, and as well understood in Denmark, in their Danish dress, as in England. The works of Dickens, Thackery, Bulwer, James, are translated as fast as they appear, are read, admired, or talked of, as much, or, indeed, more, I think, than in England — at least I have been asked by ladies what we thought in England of novels of Bulwer, and James, of the merits or names of which I was living in the most innocent and contented ignorance. Although Copenhagen is the chief seat of publication,

there are printing establishments, and publishers, in many very inconsiderable towns which in England, or Scotland, could not support a press. Newspapers for the locality, advertisements, official notices from the functionaries of the district, and reprinting schoolbooks, or popular works, seem to give these country presses full employment.

The transmission of books, and other small parcels, by post, which we think a great improvement, as it unquestionably is, and peculiar to our English Post Office arrangement, is of old standing in Denmark, and is of great advantage for the diffusion of knowledge, and of great convenience to the people. Parcels of any kind of goods as well as of books, and much larger and heavier than our Post Office authorities admit, may be sent like letters to any part of Denmark. They are not merely despatched, as by our clumsy arrangement, along with the letters, and in the letter bags, but have a distinct department, the Packet Post, with distinct clerks, porters, and conveyances if the quantity of parcels be large, for receiving, and delivering them. This branch of the Post Office produces a large revenue independently of the letter post: and might perhaps be adopted with advantage to the public, and to the revenue, by our own Post Office department. The certainty and speed of delivery by Post would justify a remunerating rate of charge, and would much outweigh the objection of encroaching on the trade of the common carriers. They would still have the carriage of the weighty low-priced goods of which the cost of transport is an object of importance, and the very speedy delivery none. The Danish Post Office was the first on the Continent that adopted the English improvement of

the stamp,—a two penny, however, instead of a penny stamp, — on all letters for all distances within the Danish dominions. It is a remarkable circumstance, and shows how powerfully public opinion acts, in this autocratic state, upon all public affairs, that this improvement, involving of course a considerable sacrifice of the revenue of the state, was adopted in the midst of an expensive insurrectionary war which might well have justified the postponement of the public convenience to the immediate requirements of the public revenue. But public opinion seems altogether as influential on public measures in the autocratic government of Denmark, as in the constitutional government of England; and perhaps more so, because the upper classes, from whom the sovereign takes his advisers, ministers, and cabinet, are not impervious to public opinion, as with us, and separated like a Brahminical caste from the influence and intercourse of the mass of the community, but are educated men mixing with their fellow subjects freely, and themselves acquainted, and embued, among the first, with the public opinion of which they are the organ in the council chamber of the sovereign. Education in Denmark does the work of political institutions for the freedom and well-being of society.

CHAP. XVII.

COUNTRY SHOPS. — GREAT EXHIBITION IN HYDE PARK, NOT A STANDARD FROM WHICH TO JUDGE OF THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE COUNTRIES EXHIBITING. — SHOPS IN COPENHAGEN. — WAY OF LIVING. — HOME-MADE CLOTHING. — CHEAPER PRODUCTION OF CLOTHING MATERIAL BY POWER-LOOM WEAVING AND MILL SPINNING. — ADVANTAGES, MORAL AS WELL AS PHYSICAL, OF THE CHEAPEST MODE OF PRODUCTION TO OUR POPULATION — WHY IT WOULD BE NO ADVANTAGE TO THE DANISH POPULATION.

I AM one of those idle travellers who like to saunter through the streets of a foreign town, gazing in at the shop windows, and who quietly think that guide-books, and the valet-de-place, museums, palaces, galleries, and curiosities of nature or art, are monstrous bores. We idlers are not without our excuse —idleness is never without an excellent one. We come abroad not to see curiosities, but to see common things,—at least I do,—to see how men live, and enjoy life, what they have of good that we want, and what we have better than they have. Now for this plain, and not very dignified, but not very foolish object in travelling, the shop windows in a village are more instructive than all the picture galleries, and museums, in the capital. The shops of a country town show us what the people have, or have not, of the useful, convenient, and comfortable, in ordinary life, and to what extent the taste for, and enjoyment of, the material objects of civilisation are diffused among them. The exhibition in the Crystal Palace of the industry of all nations was, in one sense, only a grand deception. It showed us nothing of the objects of industry

which each nation really enjoys, but only the objects which a very small proportion of the very highest and wealthiest, among many millions of people, have the taste and means to enjoy. What beautiful carpets come from Belgium and France! Yet there the middle class man, the substantial tradesman, the man who in the same station with us would have his parlour, and bedroom, and perhaps the stairs and passages, carpeted, is ignorant of such comfort or luxury. A slip of drugget at the bedside, in the houses even of the upper classes, is all that represents, in the ordinary life, and civilised enjoyments and comforts of the people, the magnificent carpets displayed as their products in the Exhibition. Is there in Belgium, France, or Germany, one dwelling-house in ten thousand that has carpets in every room, stair carpets, mahogany tables, chairs, bedsteads, wardrobes, wash-hand stands, and china-ware for bedrooms, and dining-room—in short, the ordinary kind, and quantity, of furniture which no respectable family of the middle class is without, in England? The very finest specimens of carpets, of chairs, tables, and cabinets of inlaid or carved wood-work, of china, or porcelain ware, of tasteful patterns, and admirable quality, came,—and the circumstance is very remarkable, and suggestive,—from those very countries of which the mass of the population enjoys the least extensively, any of those articles, and uses the coarsest substitutes for those they cannot do without. The dining table in very respectable, and comparatively wealthy, families, and in the best hotels, is of deal boards laid on tressels, in countries which exhibited in the Crystal Palace most beautiful inlaid tables with tastefully carved supporters. Who did

not admire the silversmith work, and the glass work, the chandeliers, and lustres, of Austria and France? Yet the admirer who travels, and lives in those countries, will find that a silver, or even plated, bed-room candlestick, with its extinguisher, snuffers, and snuff pan, would not be forthcoming in a whole province; and that in the land of chandeliers and silversmith-work, the mass of the people, even of the middle and upper classes, have none but brass or tin candlesticks, or of turned lackered wood for the stems, with brass sockets. A very small proportion of the community on the Continent, the people only of the very highest and wealthiest class, possess, and enjoy, such articles as those exhibited in the Crystal Palace. They are sufficiently numerous to keep a few manufacturing establishments in the capitals with first-rate artists profitably employed in supplying their demand: but what just idea does the exhibition of their articles give of the real condition of the great body of the people in those countries, in respect of the diffusion and enjoyment of those articles of convenience, comfort, or luxury, which denote a highly civilised state of material existence? The Great Exhibition was altogether deceptive, as an exposition of the comparative civilisation, or state of the arts contributing to civilisation, in the countries which sent their articles to it. America alone seems to have comprehended what the Exhibition should have been — a display of the articles, and improvements, in general use, and enjoyment, among her people, and denoting the diffusion among them of the useful and fine arts. Her ploughs, rakes, and reaping machines, her waggons, revolving pistols, and her statues, were of this character, and give a better idea of the progress and

actual state of the arts and civilisation of America than the articles exhibited by France, Belgium, or Germany gave of the condition of their populations. Her statue of the Greek Slave would have done very well, with a Landwehr cap on her head, and a viséed passport in her hand, for a statue of German Liberty in the Paulus Kirche, and without troubling the sculptor to remove the chain on her ankle. The traveller will find a much more reliable measure of the tastes, wants, enjoyments, civilisation, and well-being of a nation than the Exhibition gave him, in the shop windows of the country towns, and of the capital of a country. But he will make great mistakes if he judges from the show and splendour of the shops. A friend who was sauntering about the streets of Copenhagen with me came to the conclusion that the stock of goods in any one of a dozen of the first-rate drapers' or haberdashers' shops in Edinburgh would buy the stocks of any dozen shops in the same trades in the capital of Denmark; and that consequently the material well being, and enjoyment of all that the useful and ornamental arts produce in clothing, stand in about the same ratio of twelve to one higher in the Scotch than in the Danish metropolis. I could not but admit the fact of the superior value of the stocks of goods displayed in the first-rate shops of Edinburgh, and also of the greater cheapness of the kinds of goods common to both—the cottons, muslins, broad cloths, and such clothing materials—in Edinburgh than in Copenhagen. But the proportion of well-dressed people in the streets is quite as great as in our large towns; few are so shabby in clothes as the unemployed or half-employed workmen and labourers in Edinburgh; and a proletarian class,

half naked and in rags, is not to be seen. The supply of clothing material for the middle and lower classes seems as great, whether we look at the people themselves or at the second or third-rate class of shops with goods for their use. The sumptuous shops for the expensive articles of dress, furniture, and other goods suitable to a very opulent class, are certainly not so numerous. Many trades which make a splendid display in our great shop streets, such as upholsterers, carpet manufacturers, ironmongers, with their polished steel grates, fenders, and fire irons, are almost unknown. Booksellers keep few bound books, as, in general, on the Continent, books are sold in sheets, or merely stitched, bookbinding being a distinct craft. Many trades also are not subdivided. The cheesemongers' shops, Italian warehouses, tea dealers' shops, chandlers' shops, are all merged in the grocers' shops here, but are distinct branches of retail trade in our shop streets. We may conclude, from the shops and retail trade in Copenhagen, that a numerous class of wealthy consumers is wanting, and that the middle and lower classes are the customers who support the shops. In the country towns and villages, and in the small streets of the metropolis, the shops are numerous and well supplied with what those classes need; but what they need is very different from the needs of the same classes with us. The greater part of their clothing materials — linen, mixed linen and cotton, and woollen cloth — is home made; and the materials to be worked up, the cotton yarns, dye stuffs, and utensils, are what they require from the shops. The flax and wool are grown and manufactured on the peasant's farm; the spinning and weaving done in the house; the bleaching, dyeing, fulling,

done at home or in the village. The fashion both of male and female garments among the agricultural population is generally an ancient hereditary costume, peculiar to each district; and even when the wives and daughters of wealthy peasant proprietors indulge in fine materials (silk for the petticoats, and fine cloth for the jackets), which is not at all uncommon, the shape or fashion, the colours, and the ribbons to suit, are all the same in pattern as persons of the same class in the district use. The articles and ornaments worn in each district are peculiar to itself, like the patterns of tartans in our highland districts; and the people seem to adhere with the same pride and tenacity to the local costume of their native place. I met at Flendsburg a commercial traveller who had been triumphant over all competitors in obtaining orders from the shopkeepers of one district, because he carried samples of the exact thing in the patterns and shapes of the silver buttons which dangle from the jackets and knee breeches of the peasantry in that quarter; and of course all other metal wares were ordered from him. Another had been equally happy in his samples of the exact colours and stripes of his ribbons, which suited the invariable hereditary fashion of another quarter. Bunches of ribbons, silver clasps, gold earrings, and other ornaments of some value, are profusely used in many of the female dresses, although the main material is home-made woollen and linen. Some of these female peasant costumes are very becoming when exhibited in silk, fine cloth, and lace, as they are worn by handsome country girls, daughters of rich peasant proprietors in the islands, who sometimes visit Copenhagen. They have often the air and appearance of ladies, and in fact are so in

education, in their easy or even wealthy circumstances, and an inherited superiority over others of the same class. They are only peasantry, as compared to nobility or to town bred people, and are in reality country gentry. In Angeln, in particular, the peasant proprietors are wealthy yeomen, living in well-furnished houses, with much of the plenty and substantial comfort around them which their descendants in England of the same class formerly enjoyed. The home manufacturing of almost all the clothing material used by the lower and middle classes limits very much the stocks of shop goods in the villages and country towns, and even in Copenhagen, and explains why the stocks of goods in the shops of Copenhagen appear scanty and of small value compared to those in the shops of Edinburgh; and yet the people of the middle and lower classes are, in mass, much more respectably and comfortably clad. In a large country church at Gettorf, my own coat and the minister's were, as far as I could observe, the only two in the congregation not of home-made cloth; and in Copenhagen the working and every-day clothes of respectable tradesmen and people of the middle class, and of all the artisans and the lower labouring classes, are, if not home-made and sent to them by their friends, at least country made; that is, not factory made, but spun, woven, and sold in the web by peasants who have more than they want for their family use, to small shopkeepers. This is particularly the case with linen. Flax is a crop on every farm; and the skutching, hackling, spinning, weaving, and bleaching are carried on in every country family.

A great question in political economy is involved

in this home-manufacturing system as compared to the factory system; and not only much may be said on both sides, but much that is equally good. Of the good that is in our factory system, in which, by machinery, division of labour, and capital, all clothing material is supplied incredibly cheap, it may be stated, as an example, that the shirts which in a London warehouse would cost, ready made, seven shillings, would, of the same apparent quality, size, and make, cost in Copenhagen fifteen shillings a piece. This is the difference between the cost of production by mill-spinning, power-loom weaving, and all the other processes with flax and cotton in our system, and the cost by the household-manufacturing system of Denmark, and indeed of almost all the Continent. Every other kind of fabric for clothing, whether of flax, cotton, or wool, stands in nearly the same proportions; and if any cheapness is effected in the home-made fabric, it is by purchasing English mill-spun cotton yarns to mix and weave in the home loom. To the middle and lower classes with us, this cheapness of clothing material is of unspeakable benefit. The physical benefit—the keeping the body warm, and comfortably clothed—is but trifling compared to the moral benefit, the effect on mind and character, the self-respect, the habits of cleanliness and right conduct, produced on the uneducated common man by the possession of a suit of clothes in which he can appear at church or meeting, in street or market, on a footing with those he considers most respectable in society. The cheap clothing shops in London, with all their sweating of the wretched operative tailors in their employment, have produced great social good. They have raised the mechanic, the operative class,

above the distinction of dress between class and class, and have given to the million the feelings of self-respect and of respectable appearance which influence conduct. Moses and Co. have raised a great moral power from their shop in the Minories.

But let us now sum up the other side of the account. For England and English political economy, the factory system of providing clothing material is unquestionably better than the home manufacturing. The latter, in fact, could not clothe the people in our social state, and with our distribution of landed property; but it is questionable, at least, if the same political economy (viz. the supply of all clothing material by factory work at less than one half the present cost by home work) would be best for Denmark. It is never to be forgotten, in the consideration of the economy of this country (and it is repeated over and over again in the preceding Notes), that Denmark is essentially agricultural, and never can, by any human industry, be made manufacturing or commercial beyond the supplying of her own agricultural population, for the plain reason that she has neither metals nor minerals, fire power nor water power, nor any staple products but the products of husbandry, and no harbours on her ocean coast. She is by nature more isolated than any other country in Europe, not merely by her situation and detached insular portions, but by her products. It cannot be denied that Denmark might be supplied with all clothing material better by one half, and cheaper by one half, if she had spinning and weaving factories; and a small number, perhaps not more in the whole than three or four thousand operatives, would be sufficient to manufacture the stuffs which now occupy one half

(the female half) of the rural population, and a large proportion of the male population, in hand-loom weaving for the winter half year. The saving of time and labour is undeniable; but what is to be done with the time and labour saved? That is the main question in a country so essentially agricultural. It is no advantage in the social or political economy of such a country, to save the time and labour bestowed in every family upon skutching, hackling, spinning, weaving, if the time and labour saved cannot be applied to any other kind of productive industry, and are only saved to be spent in idleness and indolence. There are no factories of various kinds, as in England, always ready to employ labour in some branch or other of manufacturing industry. There are no sea-ports open at all seasons to commercial activity. There are no vast tracts of improvable waste land to absorb this saved time and labour; and the climate prevents almost all labour on the land for five or six months in winter. Where would be the gain to the Danish nation, if the small proportion of its numbers who do not live by husbandry, got their shirts and jackets, and all other clothing, one-half cheaper, and the great majority who now find winter employment in manufacturing their own clothing materials, for the time and labour which are of no value to them at that season, and can be turned to no account, were thrown idle by the competition of the superior and cheaper products of machinery and the factory? The political economy suitable to the peculiar natural advantages and social circumstances of England, is not a political economy applicable to other countries. But the English political economist will say, Denmark is rich in one class of staple pro-

ducts, the products of husbandry; and the markets for them are near, in England and Norway. Although she has no new land, like America, to bring into cultivation, and employ the time and labour of her people saved by machinery and factory work, has she no agricultural improvements to make on the land already cultivated? no draining, irrigating, enclosing, cleaning? There is unquestionably much work to be done. It is very hasty, if not presumptuous, even in our own country and climate, to denounce the practices in the husbandry of any district, the rotations of crops, the times and modes of ploughing, the apparent waste of the labour of men and horses, in its old routine of farming, as very defective and unsuitable. We see that Scotch farming, with all its real advantages and improvements, can scarcely be introduced, and very rarely with the expected success to the farmer, in our English counties. Local circumstances in the social state of the country oppose the change. But the traveller may state what he cannot help observing, that the land in Denmark and the Duchies, on the farms of the great verpachters, is generally very foul, whether the fault be in the climate, which allows little or no winter work, ploughing or draining, and admits no turnip or other root crops to be cultivated and made available for farm stock in winter, and consequently admits no summer hoeing and cleaning the land in summer, owing to their rotations not including those crops, or whether it be not a fault inseparable from dairy husbandry, and making the milking cows and their provender the main object, and raising grain a secondary object to the farmer. It appeared to me that the fields of the small working peasant proprietors are generally

in a cleaner and more satisfactory state than those of the large dairy farms. But the whole agriculture of the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, and of Jutland, is, by the abolition of our corn laws, in a transition state. New markets and objects are opened to it. Practically two new counties, Sleswick and Holstein, and a large breeding country, Jutland, have recently been added to England, by the abolition of our corn laws, and with greater facilities for transporting their produce to London or our manufacturing districts, both in regard to time and expense of conveyance, than are possessed by many of our own best farmed counties, as, for instance, Fifeshire or East Lothian, or our breeding counties of the West Highlands. Sleswick and Holstein have become, or are fast becoming, essentially and in their main material interests, a part of England, a conquest made by our corn-law policy, as truly as if they had been annexed to the British empire by force of arms. If our corn-law abolition was right policy, of which very few now entertain any doubt, the maintaining Denmark in her guaranteed possession of those countries, and preventing their annexation by conquest to Prussia or to the German empire, was a necessary sequence of that policy; and the policy of the late cabinet, under a German influence, in allowing those countries to be over-run, and, but for the bravery of the Danes themselves, conquered, by the Prussian and German armies, was as false as it was perfidious and dishonourable. In a few years these countries will be as closely united by all material interests to the British empire as the counties of Essex or Kent. London, and not Berlin, nor even Hamburgh, is now the nearest and

best market for the sale of their only products, and the purchase of all their requirements.

It seems doubtful if agricultural improvement can be carried on in a way to give winter employment to any considerable proportion of the inhabitants of those countries in which, from November to April, snow and severe frost make access to the soil precarious, and not only prevent labour in the fields for many weeks or months together, but oblige the farmer to keep a great many labourers whom he cannot employ in winter, merely to have them in readiness for the short spring season, in which a great deal of out-door work must be done at once, that in our climate is going on during all the winter months. Economy of labour, which is one main object in all agricultural improvement with us, would be of doubtful advantage here. Denmark, farmed as her land now is, raises a large surplus of grain, dairy products, and cattle, besides subsisting her present population in a higher material and intellectual condition than any country in Europe. She might increase, by agricultural improvements, the amount of her products for exportation, but, in doing so, would necessarily increase, by the temporary demand for their labour, the agricultural population employed in executing those improvements. There is no other branch of industry in which this surplus of agricultural labour could be absorbed. This class is now in a happy equilibrium to the work to be done. It would not be prudent to disturb it, and to rear in Denmark what is now unknown,—a proletarian class of agricultural paupers, brought into existence when labour in agricultural improvements was in demand, and well paid, and, although able-bodied and willing to work, not

able to find work when the agricultural improvements are accomplished, and the economy of labour, which is one great end of the improvement, sets in. In the improving and improved counties of Scotland, notwithstanding the great mass of employment in her manufacturing towns and districts, the action and reaction of a great demand for labour while improvements are going on, and a great cessation of demand for agricultural labour when they are finished, have produced great and lasting evil to the labouring class. The principles of what we call the science of political economy are, in short, applicable to no country but England. He would be a bold and blind statesman who would apply them to Denmark.

CHAP. XVIII.

COPENHAGEN AND EDINBURGH COMPARED. — THORWALDSEN. — RESPECT OF THE PEOPLE IN COPENHAGEN FOR WORKS OF ART — IN EDINBURGH. — INSTANCE OF VANDALISM IN EDINBURGH. — DEMOLITION BY THE EDINBURGH TOWN COUNCIL OF A USEFUL EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT. — DIFFERENT SPIRIT IN COPENHAGEN. — EDUCATION. — SOBRIETY OF THE PEOPLE. — FREE INTERCOURSE OF ALL CLASSES. — TEA GARDENS.

On an impartial comparison of the capitals of Scotland and Denmark, Edinburgh would have to resign to Copenhagen the title which, with a modesty characteristic of her merit, she assumes, of the modern Athens. Copenhagen, as observed in a previous Note, is the centre of a much greater literary activity. The Danish people consume more food for the mind than the Scotch, have more daily and weekly newspapers, and other periodical works, in their metropolis and in their country towns; and publish more translated and original works, have more public libraries, larger libraries, and libraries more easily accessible to persons of all classes, not only in Copenhagen, but in all provincial and country towns; have more small circulating libraries, book-clubs, musical associations, theatres, and theatrical associations, and original dramatic compositions; more museums, galleries, collections of statues, paintings, antiquities, and objects gratifying to the tastes of a refined and intellectual people, and open equally to all classes, than the people of Scotland can produce in the length and breadth of the land. The modern Athens! The traveller who comes out of the Museum of Thorwaldsen,

a building specially erected for his productions, containing all the busts, models, sketches, ideas, in clay, plaster, or on paper, of that great artist, and sees the admiration of the common man at groups or single figures, modelled from the antique or from the artist's fancy, and to which the free access of the public has, by repeated visits, raised his taste, and has taught him to admire what is good in art, will smile when he remembers the Tam O'Shanters, and Highland Pipers, and Wallaces in sandstone, or the Sir Walters, and Queen Victorias, in marble, received and admired in the modern Athens as masterpieces of fine art. In veneration for their great artist, the Danish people have shown a high feeling for art. His whole life, after he retired from Rome, was an ovation. On his death, every article belonging to him, — even to the furniture of his chamber, his books, drawings, every thing, however trifling,—was preserved, and deposited in the order in which he used them, in rooms assigned to them in the Thorwaldsen Museum. It contains nothing but Thorwaldsen. You see the life's work of his mind and hand, from the earliest essay to the last unfinished idea in clay; and you wonder that the life of one man could have produced so much. The very amount of manual labour in plaster and clay, and finally in the marble, is astonishing. This manual labour of the artist in forming himself, and even in producing the model he is to work from, is overlooked and forgotten, when we see the finished statue. All Thorwaldsen is here. His tomb is in the court of the building; his works fill the galleries, and his household furniture, books, and relics, have apartments like those he lived in, and are not the least or last visited by the Copenhageners. All these trea-

sures of fine art, statues, statuettes, heads, arms, bodies, from the first conception to the finished model from which the perfect statue has been chiselled in marble, and all in fragile material, clay or plaster, are open to the public. Small articles, such as coins, medals, seals, are under glass cases, but are taken out, if desired, for closer inspection. How long would such a collection remain unmutilated and undamaged in Edinburgh, if the public, and persons even far above the lowest class, had equally free access to it? The finest statues and models would be tattoed with the initials of all the clerks and apprentices in Edinburgh, or wantonly deprived of toes, features, or limbs. The Scotch Athenians have still the itch in their finger ends, and cannot refrain from touching, rubbing, and handling. The want of that respect for intellectual objects, which is the test of the civilisation of a people, is not confined to the lowest classes in Edinburgh. Soon after the solar eclipse, the conversation where I was, turned upon the advantage it would be of to the youth of all classes in Copenhagen, if there was a popular observatory, furnished with instruments sufficiently good to give a view of the satellites of Jupiter, the ring of Saturn, the aspect of the moon, and such astronomical objects; and it was referred to me, whether there was not such an establishment on the Calton Hill at Edinburgh. I was almost ashamed to say that there had been, — that there had been a good solar microscope, models of various interesting machines, such as the atmospheric locomotive engine, and the electric telegraph, showing their working, and a telescope of no ordinary power, the same, I believe, with which the maker, Short, discovered, much more than half a century ago, that

Saturn's ring is double, and which is now claimed as a recent American discovery; that for the small sum of three pence the intelligent school-boy or the reading artisan could realise in his mind the aspects of the Moon, of Jupiter, of Saturn; and that it was a great educational means, honourable to the city; but it was swept away one morning by order of the provost, baillies, and town council, because the proprietrix's servant had insulted the dignity and disturbed the quietude of a town councillor's digestive walk on the esplanade, by thrusting into his hand a bill of the wonders of animalculæ exhibited by the microscope in a drop of water. The telescope was not surpassed by more than four or five in Scotland. It was, or ought to have been, a hallowed instrument in the eyes of the people of Edinburgh, for it had stood on the Calton Hill, accessible to the public for sixpence, for at least sixty years; and it is highly probable that many of the eminent men Scotland has to boast of in natural philosophy, — Playfair, Leslie, Brewster, Forbes, Nichols, Brougham, — have been beholden to, or have looked through, or possibly may have drawn their inspiration, their love of astronomical and optical science, from, their sixpenny peep, as school-boys, at the heavenly bodies under the régime of old Short, the astronomer. And this instrument was dislodged, thrown out on the green, its roof and walls torn down, and a most useful educational means destroyed, by the lord provost and town council of the modern Athens, no Athenian raising his voice against it, because a foolish quarrel arose between the proprietrix of the establishment and one of the town councillors! It is time for the higher classes of Edinburgh to abandon their claims to enlightened zeal for the education of the people.

The confidence reposed by the public authorities of Copenhagen in the orderly conduct of the people is well responded to by the people. The young trees and shrubs, the seats and monuments in the parks and public walks, require no protection but the good feeling of the public.

The streets are but poorly lighted, gas is not yet introduced, and the police is an invisible force: yet one may walk at all hours through this town without seeing a disorderly person, a man in liquor unable to take care of himself, or a female street-walker. Every one appears to have a home and bed of some kind, and the houseless are unknown as a class. One great cause of the general well-being and orderly conduct of the operative body in Copenhagen, even in its lowest employments, is, that no attraction is offered by chance-work in any regular trade or occupation for the artisan or working man to leave his own place and resort to the capital. Such chance-work for strangers can rarely occur in the trades under the incorporation system, and the stranger must be known and recommended by the masters of his craft in the place he comes from. There is no such influx, as in our large towns, of operatives in every trade, who, coming from the country to better their condition, are by far too numerous for the demand, must take work at lower and lower wages to keep themselves from starving, and who reduce their fellow craftsmen and themselves to equal misery. Employment is more fixed and stationary for the employed and the employers. There is no foreign trade or home consumpt to occasion great and sudden activity and expansion in manufactures, and equally great and

sudden stagnation and collapse. The home market is of known and limited extent; each manufacturer knows how much his own circle of customers require of his goods, and it is only by slow degrees that he can extend his circle and employ more hands. The greatest body of the operative class in Copenhagen consists of workmen employed by government about the dock-yard. These are lodged in small neat houses one story high, in regular airy streets, which government built for lodging its workmen and seamen not afloat. The comfort and cleanliness of these dwellings appear to have given a kind of standard of requirements to workmen in private employment, and a standard also of conduct. Drunkenness and drinking are two vices which have disappeared from the Danish character. They are too very distinct vices. The getting drunk, as sailors, soldiers, and hard-working ignorant men do on every holiday,—and in some trades every Saturday is such a holiday,—is not so pernicious to the individual or to society as the daily drinking of two, three, or four drams, or schnaps, which keep the dram-drinker in a perpetual half-tipsy state of mind and body. This habit, which was universal fifty years ago in the north of Germany and Denmark among all ranks, from the baron to the postboy, is now giving way so completely, that it would be thought as odd, or disreputable, now to take a dram in the morning or forenoon, as it would be in England among our upper educated classes. Drunkenness has vanished almost entirely. I have not seen a drunken man in Denmark or the duchies, although I have been living very much in country *Kros*, or ale and spirit houses in the villages. I would attribute this great change and improvement in the habits of the

people — and every traveller who has known the north of Europe fifty, twenty, or even ten years ago, can bear witness to its reality — to two causes. First, the increased use of tobacco of a higher quality, and at a very moderate price, by which the spare penny that would formerly have gone in a dram, is spent now upon the more lasting, and, to the exhausted, weary labourer, more soothing indulgence of a cigar. The one taste has come in competition with the other; and as the working man cannot afford to indulge in both, that which is nearest, the pipe or cigar in the pocket, has gradually gained the ascendancy, in his habits, over the dram bottle at a distance. The second cause is the greater diffusion of education; but by education I do not mean moral and religious instruction, useful knowledge, and learning suitable for the common man. What country or capital can vie with Scotland, and Edinburgh, in particular, in the diffusion of useful knowledge, and, above all, in the moral and religious instruction of the people; and where, but in Edinburgh, do the people spend twelve hundred pounds sterling every Sunday after church time in dram-drinking in spirit shops? It is the education of the tastes for more refined amusements than the counter of the gin palace, or the back parlour of the whisky shop afford, that has superseded the craving for the excitement of spirituous liquor. The tea gardens, concert rooms, ball rooms, theatres, skittle grounds, all frequented indiscriminately by the highest and the lowest classes, have been the schools of useful knowledge that have imparted to the lowest class something of the manners and habits of the highest, and have eradicated drunkenness and brutality in ordinary intercourse, from the

character of the labouring people. Our travellers do not, in general, with their English habits of reserve, go, and see, and enter into the great equality and freedom in social intercourse between the higher and lower classes at public places on the Continent. The English Exclusive shrinks with horror from the vulgar public twopenny tea-garden with its skittle-ground, open air concert, merry-go-rounds, harlequinades, and all the amusements of the vulgar, and with peasants, common soldiers, tradesmen, with their wives and children, crossing his path, and coming between the wind and his gentility. Yet on the Continent, at such places, you see lords of the soil, military officers of the highest rank, civil functionaries in high positions coming with their wives and families, not to patronise, or be stared at, or to play the affable, but simply to take coffee, listen to the music, and to be amused. At Hanover, one of the most aristocratic of the petty German sovereignties, I saw, this spring, the royal family and their attendants drive into a tea-garden, about a mile from the town, in which a military band was playing, and a motley assemblage of common soldiers, tradesmen, peasants, officers, ladies and gentlemen, and country girls, were walking about, or sitting on the benches drinking beer or tea, and all the men smoking. Nobody took the least notice of their arrival, or stared at them as unusual visitors. No hats were taken off—no pipe or cigar relinquished—although the late old king Ernest was himself in one of the carriages. It was evidently an ordinary occurrence. All kinds of people were taking their sixpenny worth of pleasure for their money. At Copenhagen, at the tea-gardens which extend a mile or two, and form

almost a town of tea gardens on the road to Frederiksberg, the same common enjoyments of high and low, the same free intercourse without distinction, must naturally diffuse the better element and its influences over the worse,—the refinement of tastes, habits, and manners of the higher, over the vulgarity, rudeness, and selfishness of the lower class.

CHAP. XIX.

MUSEUM OF NORTHERN ANTIQUITIES AT COPENHAGEN. — ITS MANAGEMENT. — THE VIEWS IT SUGGESTS. — AGES OF BONE, BRONZE, IRON. — ANCIENT COMMERCE. — ARTICLES PROBABLY DEALT IN. — BENEFIT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH TO TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

THERE is not among all the museums in Europe, one so instructive as the Museum of Northern Antiquities in the palace of Christiansborg at Copenhagen. It is not only instructive to the visitors, but to the governments, or heads of departments, which establish and regulate museums in other countries. It is open to the public, gratis, on certain days, and at certain hours, and the visitors are not left to gape in ignorance at what they see. Professors of the highest attainments in antiquarian science — Professor Thomsen, M. Worsaae, and others — men who in fact have created a science out of an undigested mass of relics, curiosities, and specimens of the arts in the early ages, — go round with groups of the visitors, and explain equally to all, high and low, with the greatest zeal, intelligence, and affability, the uses of the articles exhibited, the state of the arts in the ages in which they were used, the gradual progress of mankind from shells, stones, and bones, to bronze and iron, as the materials for tools, ornaments, and weapons, and the conclusions made, and the grounds and reasons for making them, in their antiquarian researches. They deliver, in fact, an extempore lecture intelligible to the peasant, and instructive to the philosopher. Our British

Museum is Noah's ark stranded upon the tower of Babel. All things are there, and all things are unintelligible. A few professors with the zeal, tact, and information of the gentlemen of this museum, each with his distinct department of science, going round with, and explaining to his group of visitors what is before them, and accommodating his explanations to the intelligence of his auditors, would enlighten and cultivate the public mind and taste, more than any other educational means which Government could employ. I have seen Professor Thomsen going round his museum with a group of visitors, and when a peasant girl stopped to look at an ancient brooch of which she had recognised the use from its being not unlike her own, he took out the article from the glass case, explained to her, and showed to her, the various kinds of pins and brooches used in the age of bone, in the age of bronze, in the age of iron, and the gradual progress to silver, gold, and precious stones, and delivering on the spot an instructive lecture upon the fastenings of garments in the early ages, and with as much zeal, and attention, as if it had been a princess and her suite, instead of a peasant girl, her betrothed, and her village friends, who were standing around him. There is good policy, and tact, in the affability and zeal with which the professor, and gentlemen belonging to this establishment, show and explain every article, as if by preference, to the country people from the provinces who visit the museum. They are the class most in the way of finding in their fields, while ploughing and digging, the articles which the professor wants, and now, in all parts of the country, they carefully preserve,

and send in, whatever they suppose may be valuable or curious for their museum, as the peasants, from the affability of the Professor, consider it. We have no such men as Professor Thomsen.

The origin of this museum is remarkable. In the Cathedral of Roeskilde, some years ago, there was a quantity of trumpery, bits of wood, the gatherings of many years, a wooden figure or two, old coffin lids, and such rubbish, and the clergymen of the cathedral ordered the whole to be sold by auction. It was purchased in lots for fire-wood, and one lot contained a wooden figure which the buyer put up in his garden. It was purchased from him for a couple of shillings, painted light blue, and destined, when restored to the likeness of a human figure, to adorn the bows of some brigantine in the coasting trade. But in adapting the figure to this new position by the persuasive edge of the carpenter's axe, the breast was opened and in it was found a box of enameled gold of small size, or value, but containing what evidently was received, and treasured up in the middle ages, as a chip of the holy cross. The relic had been placed, in some remote age, in the bosom of this wooden figure, intended probably for the Virgin, or one of the Apostles, and must have been of inestimable value in the 11th or 12th century. Mr. Thomsen and some other antiquaries formed an association for collecting and preserving such remains of former days as might be found in churches, or elsewhere, and depositing them in a public museum. The government sanctioned and aided the plan, appropriated a suite of rooms to receive the articles, and pays the full value, to the finder, of the gold or silver contained in any coins,

chains, ornaments, or other objects, and thus saves many curiosities which under the old law, similar to ours, vesting all such found treasure in the Crown, would not have escaped the crucible. Private donors contributed the two or three articles of antiquity they might possess, towards a museum in which their generosity was recorded, and their gifts preserved to the remotest times. The public spirit was awakened. The collection grew larger from day to day. The peasants took a pleasure in sending to Professor Thomsen whatever they found that they thought curious. Antiquarian research had long been a national taste in Denmark. Suhm, Torfæus, Magnusen, Wormæus, and many other eminent Icelandic scholars and antiquaries, had acquired celebrity, and the favours of government, in this line of study. It had become general, and characteristic of the learned men of Denmark of the last century, because, under autocratic governments, however mild and parental, it is always more safe and agreeable to write about the past, than the present. The interest in the mythological and historical saga was beginning to flag, the subject was exhausted, and the antiquarian muse had ceased even to conjecture meanings and dates in the invaluable collection of Icelandic manuscripts in the royal library, when this new and fresh branch, which may be called the material branch of the antiquary's studies, was brought into full bearing, and all the world in Denmark became antiquaries, because all the world can dig, and rummage in tumuli, pick up curiosities, and acquire immortal fame by sending them to the care of Professor Thomsen of the Museum of Northern Antiquities.

This museum suggests many reflections on the primitive state, if it can truly be so called, of mankind before the use of metal. It contains specimens of the tools, utensils, and weapons of the New Zealanders, and other natives of the South Sea Islands, among whom bone or stone were used also for all purposes, from the want of iron or copper. The coincidence in shape and use shows how the same circumstances produce the same results among people in the most distant part of the globe, and who could not have borrowed from or imitated each other. It suggests more. It suggests the question, what is civilisation? Civilisation, we may be told, is the improvement superinduced upon the natural condition of the human animal. But what is this natural condition? Is it not altogether ideal and theoretical? The human animal has never been discovered by the traveller in any country or climate in really a state of nature,—that is, in a state like that of the inferior animals, in which he has only his own unaided natural powers, senses, and instincts, as an individual, to supply his natural wants. In the lowest state of existence in which man has ever been found, he has words to express his ideas,—not merely cries or sounds to express his sensations; he has fire, and the art of producing it,—next to speech the most important of divine gifts, or human inventions; he has clothing, covering, and shelter of some kind; ornaments, too, of some kind, and weapons or implements for killing his prey, or his enemy, almost always of one kind and constructed on one principle, the bow and arrow on the principle of elasticity. These are all artificial productions, and all of them—language in its rudest form, the means of striking and kindling

fire, the principle and construction of the bow and arrow, — are complicated inventions, requiring co-operation, skill, and acquired knowledge, and are so little obvious to the unaided mind, so far removed from discovery by chance in any space of time, yet are so immediately necessary to human existence from its first hour, that it is impossible to conceive that the human animal ever existed in a natural condition without language, fire, and weapons. It seems much more reasonable to believe that what we hear from travellers of the condition and mode of existence of the most rude tribes in Australia or the Terra del Fuego, approaching the most nearly to the condition of the inferior animals, yet with the use of language, fire, and projectile weapons, may be rather the expiring glimmer of the embers of a prior state of higher civilisation, in ages and under circumstances unknown to us, than the rising dawn of a future higher condition, or a fixed and perpetual condition of those tribes. They could not now invent language, nor the mechanism of the bow and arrow, nor the art of striking light and kindling fire. The most rude and imperfect language is, in its construction, in its riches of words and combinations of words to express meaning, and in its extension and connexion with other languages, so far beyond the wants and requirements of the rude and ignorant tribes using it, that, in their present condition, they could never have invented, constructed, and diffused such a machinery of sounds connected with ideas. It seems more reasonable to suppose a prior civilisation of the human race, of which some sparks still linger among expiring tribes in America, Africa, and Australia, and are visible in what they still retain of language, and

of arts necessary to their existence. The Scriptural account of the human race, deducing all mankind from one family,—that is, from one centre of existence, and consequently, the languages and arts from one original root,—coincides with the conclusions the philosopher would draw from the languages and arts of the most rude and uncivilised tribes now remaining on the face of the earth. He would probably go a step further than the inference of a common origin, and would conclude that these tribes had received their languages and arts from a higher source, from a different and higher state of civilisation and social existence than they now live in, and that they never in their present state could have worked these out for themselves. The primitive state of the human race has probably been of a high, not of a low civilisation. In every clime and region the existence of the species depends on the application by the individual of acquired reasoning powers, not of instincts only, and these intellectual powers are connected with, and depend upon, the possession, even in the lowest condition of man, of arts, without which life could not have been supported, and of which the knowledge must have been hereditary. It is not in a religious sense only that the philosopher may believe there has been a fall of man from a higher to a lower state.

This museum suggests also some practical as well as speculative views of the condition of man before metals were applied to the construction of weapons, if such a condition did originally exist, and if nations have not rather fallen from, than risen to, the use of metals, in the course of the existence of the human race. It is rich in specimens of flint arrow heads, and we see them, from the chips of flint just struck

off from the pebble, to the most laboriously finished and barbed points, or heads, for arrows and javelins; and we not only see them in all stages of manufacture, but also the tools, the stone hammers, and chisels, by which, possibly, they have been chipped off and shaped. It has evidently been a manufacture, a work of great skill and labour, and requiring much time to produce such highly finished arrow heads, or any point and edge at all that could inflict a wound, out of a rough rounded flint pebble. Nodules of flint, of a size to afford a straight chip, or slice, three or four inches long, and without a curve from the outside shape, are not so very common even in flint countries. The rounded kidney-shaped figures and short diameters of the nodules in which flint is usually found, make selection and judgment necessary. A curve or bend in the arrow head would prevent the arrow from flying straight; and among the chips of flint in the museum, which have been in some workman's stock in preparation for arrow heads, are some which have the circular bend of the nodule from which they have been chipped, and evidently are unfit for the intended purpose. Supposing the arrow head, by chipping with the stone hammer and chisel, to be complete, — and we see specimens here barbed, toothed, and as neatly finished as those of bronze or iron, — and supposing this was accomplished with stone tools, which, as flint is harder than most stones, is not very supposable, we still come to a difficulty. How, without sharp edged tools of metal, is the wooden shaft of the arrow to be reduced from the rough branch of a tree, and brought to its proper size, shape, and roundness? We have in our climate no canes or branches even of trees, which would only

require to be shortened, fitted with heads, and feathered, to be arrows. Chipping, or grinding, and rubbing, with stone tools, would not make an arrow shaft out of a branch of a fir, oak, or elm. It is evident that every man could not have made his own arrows, even when stone was the material; that there must have been a division of labour, and a co-operation of different workmen to produce even a stone-pointed arrow; and that whether the bowman himself, or distinct workmen, as the *flechers* were in later times, made the arrows, they could not have been made in the abundance in which they were used, or with the expedition necessary, without metal tools. In a sea engagement,—and most of the battles of the northern chiefs and vikings were fought in ships,—the arrow once shot from the bow would be totally lost, and on land the recovery of the arrow in the field would be very uncertain. The bowman could scarcely manage to carry and stow in his quiver, his girdle, or about his person in any way, above sixty rounds of arrow ammunition, and have the use of his bow freely. This quantity would scarcely keep him shooting for an hour. Volleys of arrows, clouds of arrows, showers of arrows, are mentioned in all the most ancient Saga, and chronicles of the middle ages, in which battles are described, so that arrows must have been so plentiful as to be shot by lines of archers in battle array, not merely by a few men dispersed in front or on the flanks, like our light infantry or riflemen. In whatever way the supply of arrows was produced, whether by a distinct body of workmen, or each archer making his own, and with whatever material, bone, stone, or iron, they may have been headed, it is clear that tools of metal must have been in use to

produce them. Let any man sit down now with axe, knife, plane, and file, of metal, and try how many arrows or javelins he will make in a day. Not so many, certainly, of efficient missiles, pointed, feathered, smoothed, and poised, as he would shoot away in an hour. The Romans intrenched themselves every night on a march, and evidently because each night's encampment was a depôt of arms, on which they could fall back for new supplies, if, in the course of the following day, they had to engage an enemy and expend their missile ammunition. Agricola, in his expedition into Scotland, was attended by a fleet along the coast to the Tay, and none of the Roman camps in Scotland are above a day's march from their ships, or from a strong intrenched camp which kept up the communication with the ships which carried these missiles. The Saxons and Northmen in subsequent invasions, or predatory excursions, always brought their vessels up in the rear of their march through the smallest rivers, and as far inland as possible, and evidently that they might have a supply of missiles to fall back upon. It is fair to conclude that there never was an age when men fabricated their weapons without the aid of metal tools, although they may not have had metal enough to use, instead of bone or stone, for the heads of missiles so numerous as arrows must have been, and so easily lost. It has been calculated that in an ordinary battle of four thousand men lasting for four hours, and with arrows and javelins of weight to penetrate shields or inflict wounds through skins or other clothing, from fifteen to eighteen tons of metal would be shot away, even if each bowman only shot a half ounce arrow once in a minute. The age of bone or stone only indi-

cates a period or a locality in which metals were scarce, but not at all that the use of metals was unknown. No such distinct separations can be drawn as the antiquary's terms of an age of stone, of bronze, and of iron would imply. The specimen of the age of stone and bone may belong to a very late period of the age of bronze, or of iron, and the casual want of the metals in the locality may have kept up the use of the inferior material. We still see ploughs entirely of wood. In Norway skiffs, or small boats, are put together without a nail of iron in them. In the island of Gotland anchors may be seen at this day formed of the natural hook of a tree and its branch at their junction, with a heavy stone lashed to it. But we are not to infer that iron is unknown in the age or locality in which these substitutes for it are used; but, on the contrary, iron tools are necessary for the construction of these wooden ploughs, boats, and anchors, and we do not live in an age of wood and without the use of iron, because such implements of wood belong to it. In the year of Rome 640, corresponding to about 111 years before our Christian era, the Cimbri and Teutones, we are told by Plutarch in his Life of Marius, issued from the Cimbric Chersonese, and adjacent islands (viz., this peninsula and the Danish islands), to the number of 300,000 men, under a king called Bogarix, advanced through Gaul, and were defeated by Marius with immense slaughter on the plains now called Vercuil. Their cavalry of 15,000 men were, according to Plutarch, armed with iron cuirasses, helmets, and halberts. These Cimbri are claimed by Welsh antiquaries as a Celtic tribe, the name Cymri being, in Welsh, the name of the ancient aboriginal Britons.

But Cimbri, pronounced Kimbri by the Romans, is the word Kimber, or Kamper, still in use in the Scandinavian languages to denote a warrior of great strength and stature, a champion, which is a word derived apparently from the same name Kamper, and the physical appearance attributed by Plutarch to the Cimbri coincides with the meaning of the word. Marius, we are told, took the precaution to accustom the Roman soldier gradually to the appearance of those huge gigantic men, which is intelligible if they were Scandinavians, Germans, or Jutlanders, but not if they were Welsh, Ancient Britons, or a Celtic people, who are a race of the same size and bulk as the Romans themselves. These Cimbri, their numbers no doubt greatly exaggerated, as well as their personal size and appearance, must have got their iron armour from some other country by trade or piracy, for the peninsula produces no iron. Whether these Cimbri of Plutarch were Ancient Britons, or Ancient Germans and Jutlanders, a Celtic or a Teutonic tribe, they throw back an age when metal was unknown, far beyond history or tradition. Thousands of years must be allowed for the progress of an almost insulated population from bone and stone arrow points and javelin heads, to iron cuirasses, helmets, and halberts; but these may have co-existed in one age and one country, as iron ploughs and wooden ploughs do now, and have been blended together without denoting distinct ages of stone or bone, of bronze and of iron. Without the latter material, neither of the other two could have been obtained.

The trade, and intercourse, and mutual exchanges of commodities between nations in the earliest times, before and after our era, must have been greater than

we learn directly from history. Cæsar found merchant vessels in the ports of Gaul on the coast of the channel sufficient to transport his army, with their bulky missiles, into Britain. He would scarcely find so many at the present day in the small ports between the Schelde and the Seine. The sea was covered with pirates during the Roman occupation of the island, and for many centuries after; but piracy proves that commerce was active, that there were prizes to be captured. Neither Saxons nor Northmen would have been on the sea if there had not been much merchant property afloat. It would be a curious subject for antiquarian research, to discover what kind of property it might be that crossed the seas, in those ages, from one country to another. Arms of metal, iron halberts, helmets, and cuirasses, such as Plutarch ascribes to the cavalry of the Cimbri, who had no iron in their own land, would be staple articles, and also iron or bronze tools. Pottery, which some countries have not the material and skill to fabricate, would be another early and staple article of commerce. Salt, which in the countries round the Baltic cannot be extracted from its merely brackish water, and which on the North-Sea coasts, owing to the want of heat and sunshine, can only be obtained by artificial evaporation, and for which pans, and even fuel close to the coast (on which wood seldom grows), would be wanting, must, in the very earliest ages have been a main article of commerce. All these requirements of the North would, no doubt, be repaid, as stated in a former Note, by the furs, feathers, amber, wax, tar, required in the South; and regular entrepôts for exchange of goods, even between Novogorod and Milan, appear to have been established

at Wisby long before the rise of Lubeck and the Hanseatic towns. After the introduction of Christianity, the church must, from the nature of her requirements and institutions, have given a great impulse to trade and manufactures. Besides pilgrimages, crusades, and the perpetual circulation of the clergy and pious people to and from Rome, uniting the most remote and barbarous dioceses with each other and with Italy, the supply of the church service with its requisites opened up great communication and commerce. The most simple chapel has its wax and tallow lights always burning, its wine and incense for the altar; its priestly vestments, from the most gorgeously embroidered velvets and silks to the coarsest undyed woollen garment of the monk; its goldsmith work; its crucifixes, relics, paintings, images: and is one of a vast number of establishments which were buyers and consumers of a great variety of manufactures, and of almost all that sculpture or painting produced. The civilisation of mankind has been more promoted, perhaps, by the ceremonial than by the spiritual element in the worship of the Church of Rome. Some of its observances, followed in blind superstition, have been conceived and imposed with great worldly wisdom. The fish diet, for instance, imposed on all Catholics in Lent, on Fridays, and on various fast days, has united the north of Europe with the south; the coasts of Norway and Iceland with the coasts of Spain and Italy; has raised and sustained two of the mightiest agents in the civilisation of Europe,—the Hanseatic League and the united provinces of Holland; both powers founded and built, according to the proverbial expression, upon fish bones; and is to this day one of

the greatest means by which the industry of the North, and its products, are exchanged for the industry and products of the South; and men of the most different climes supply each other with what they want and cannot produce at home, by a trade which arose and is mainly supported by an observance in the ceremonial worship of the Church of Rome. Whether the observance was established by blind superstition or far-seeing wisdom, it has had the result of promoting civilisation, and binding together nations, distant from each other, by the ties of mutual interest and interchange of commodities, as if it had been so intended; and it is fair to ascribe to premeditated wisdom measures which prove wisdom by their permanently-beneficial results.

CHAP. XX.

ROYAL PALACES IN DENMARK.—GERMAN SCHLOSS STYLE.—FREDERICKSBORG PALACE.—ELIZABETHAN STYLE.—INIGO JONES.—SPECIMENS OF HIS TALENT.—A FRENCH CHATEAU.—FREDENSBORG.—BEAUTY IN THE OLD STYLE OF GARDENS.—A FINE SPECIMEN OF IT HERE.—DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN DENMARK—IN COPENHAGEN.—APPARENT DECAY OF THE OLD NOBILITY.

HILLERÖD, Sealand, 1851.—In no country in Europe have the revenues of the state been expended so extravagantly and unnecessarily in palaces and public buildings as in Denmark. Every sovereign since Christian IV. appears to have inherited that monarch's love of building, but not his taste. Copenhagen has five or six palaces, or royal residences, within or at a short distance from the city; and within a circuit of twenty miles, there are probably as many royal palaces. The largest of these is Christiansborg, a huge pile, uninhabitable because, owing to its size, and the great dimensions of many of its apartments, it cannot be kept warm enough in winter by any application of stovés and flues. The others are in the German schloss style, which seems borrowed from the French chateau of the age of Louis XIV. Long suites of rooms opening into each other, and into a long passage or gallery, make a cold comfortless house in northern climates. The vast staircases, and entrance rooms, and ante-rooms, may be agreeable in Italy, but are not suitable for the North of Europe. The uninhabited and uninhabitable rooms in private houses, of which the inhabitants

have no pretension to more than an ordinary quiet style of living, are among the first circumstances in domestic arrangements abroad which strike the English traveller. The family lives in one daily room, or parlour, and the vast saloon, with its chandelier tied up in yellow gauze, and which is often its only piece of furniture, stands empty and unused, and useless evidently for the class of incomes which now occupy the mansions. We have, no doubt, also our drawing room, which the mistress will on no consideration allow to be used every day, or perhaps above once a year, but then it is a habitable room, not a mere reservoir of dust and cold air, is full of furniture, although too fine for use, and it is not in general too large for the rest of the house, or for the means of the class who occupy such dwellings. Abroad, you have always the impression that the house you are in has been built for some higher class than the occupants; and even in the royal palaces you feel a want, on looking about you, of the abundance of solid rich furniture of every kind which fills every corner of an English mansion. The residence of his present Majesty is at Fredericksborg, close to this little town, a few miles from Copenhagen, and it is in a different style altogether from a German schloss. It is a red brick English palace of the Elizabethan taste and age, built by Inigo Jones for Christian IV., and is perhaps the finest specimen extant of the picturesque English style of that period and master,—the only style of architecture England can claim as peculiarly her own. Inigo Jones was the architect of Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh, and of St. John's College, Oxford; but this palace is probably the greatest work he executed. It is built

upon an islet, which it occupies entirely, near one end of a small lake of about fifty acres in extent. The islet is connected by a bridge of one low arch with the land, and is so entirely occupied by the building, that the walls rise, as in Venice, directly out of the water. Our sanitary commissioners would take fever and ague from the sight of such a mansion, for the little stagnant lake which, like all the lakes in this country of chalk formation, has no stream running into it or out of it, surrounds the palace with mud, reeds, rushes, and peat bog, and is itself hemmed in by a forest of great extent. Inigo Jones has been a good builder, as well as a great architect, for none of the walls washed by the lake has any stain of damp or moss on them, and I was assured that the cellarage and basement rooms, as well as those on the other floors, are perfectly dry. The graceful outlines of the domes springing into spires, which are the ornaments of this palace, are very unlike the suet dumplings which our Edinburgh architects have placed upon the towers of the hospitals they have been building in the Elizabethan style. The inhabitants of this little town, although they have the palace always before their eyes, often stop on their walks through the adjoining forest to admire and point out some new view of this picturesque structure. The adjacent grounds are merely portions of the forest, with garden walks through them ending in the forest paths; and little has been done to spoil or improve the natural scenery. In the palace, the knights' hall and the chapel are shown to strangers. The former is a long low-roofed room or gallery, and the ceiling carved in oak compartments, with a profusion of gilding, presents the solid reality

of divisions and ornaments cut out in wood, which, in our times, are imitated in stucco and fresco painting on the ceilings of our halls. The chapel retains much of the splendour of the Roman Catholic worship. It is perhaps the main cause of the undeniable decay of the Lutheran church in all Lutheran countries, that it retains either too much or too little of the ceremonial and splendour of the Church of Rome to satisfy the religious sentiment of the nineteenth century—too much for the educated, reasoning mind which looks upon worldly pomp and show as unworthy expressions of true worship—too little for the ignorant and imaginative mind, which looks upon worldly pomp and show as essential in true worship, and finds these much more splendid, and, consequently, much more worthy of their object, in the ceremonies, processions, and imagery of the Roman Catholic Church, than in the Lutheran. There are but two churches of this day within the pale of Christianity—the ceremonial and the spiritual. The pope and his cardinals walking in solemn procession in their gorgeous robes down the silk-hung nave of St. Peter's, and chaunting at intervals the solemn strains of their service, are the highest type of the grand ceremonial worship; of the spiritual, the true type is the hill-side preacher in some Scotch moorland district,—the sky itself the roof of his St. Peter's, the heather its pavement, the mists on the hill its silken hangings,—while he pours out his unpremeditated spiritual sentiments, feelings, and exhortations to a congregation of the shepherds and their families, sitting in their plaids on the heather banks around him. This Lutheran chapel in the palace of Fredericksborg is distinguished by a re-

markable trait of character in the present sovereign and his people. The little town of Hillerod, or Fredericksborg, had grown, by the vicinity of the palace, into a population of about five and twenty hundred inhabitants, with a town house, a school house, a bookseller's shop, a library, a musical and dramatic society, and all that Danish towns usually have—but it wanted a church. The parish church was at some distance, having been built before the town existed. The inhabitants proposed to assess themselves to build a chapel, and raise some kind of yearly stipend for a minister; but the king, on hearing of it, told them that they need not be at such a heavy expense, the court chapel in the palace should be as free to them all, high and low, as to his own attendants, and there is a chaplain paid for performing service in it. The royal chapel accordingly was made the common town church for all who chose to go to it. A king who does such considerate things deserves to be popular. Above the chapel is a hall in which the knights of the Elephant and Dannebrog orders are installed; and their escutcheons hang on the wall above their chairs of state. Three escutcheons are wanting—those of the two Augustenburg princes, and of another prince of the Sonderburg family, who, in the late insurrection, took arms against their sovereign, have been removed, and the blank above their chairs records their dismissal and disgrace. As if intended for a contrast to Fredericksborg, at a distance of five or six miles, is the palace of Fredensborg, a genuine French chateau-palace, with French gardens, alleys, statues, devices, and all the artificial accompaniments with which nature was decked out in pleasure grounds about the year

1720, when this palace was constructed.* The stiff, prim taste of these French gardens is, after all, not so unpleasing, or devoid of agreeable effect, around a stiff, prim, inhabited chateau, from which you might expect to see a cavalier of the times of Louis XIV. in silk stockings, velvet coat, sword, powdered hair, and chapeau bras, handing down stairs, on tiptoe, a lady in high-heeled, yellow satin shoes, and hoop-petticoat. The closely shaven lawns, the broad smooth rolled gravel walks, the statues and altars, and nymphs and cupids, seem not out of place, or an unpardonable violation of the simplicity of nature, where all around is artificial, and out of keeping with the simplicity of nature. You don't want the simplicity of nature just outside your door, even in an ordinary country house, but rather the comfort, convenience, and beauty of an artificial nature, if such a term may be used, of flower plots, rare shrubs, smooth dry gravel walks, and closely mown green lawns. The gardens here are the most entire, extensive, and well kept up specimens of this style of ornamental gardening that can be found in the North of Europe, and they are bounded by a noble sheet of water, the Esrom lake, of which the headlands and shores, wooded to the water edge in many places, afford views from the alleys and walks, which art cannot improve or spoil. The alleys themselves in these grounds, originally no doubt stiff rows of small trees nodding to each other, have by the vigour of nature outgrown the reach of art, and are magnificent avenues of towering elms, meeting at their summits, and overarching the pathway, at a height from which the cawings of the rooks come to the ear as some distant sound. In the hundred or two hundred years

between the building of Kronborg castle by Frederick II., and of Fredericksborg by his son Christian IV., about 1620, and the building of this chateau of Fredensborg about the year 1720, and of the huge schloss of Christiansborg only finished in the present half century, the taste in architecture has not been advancing in Denmark. The two earliest structures I have mentioned, are unquestionably the most pleasing to the eye, and the most picturesque. The others of later date, which stud the country in useless and extravagant numbers, may be more classical, with their porticoes, pillars, pilasters, and all in the most exact conformity to the rules of art, and the practice of the great Italian masters; but Denmark is not Italy, and these Italian palaces look like great white packing cases standing empty on the green, and which have no place of their own to be stowed away in. They do not belong to the country, the climate, or the age, and appear cold, comfortless, dilapidated, and uninhabited, even when they are occupied by the royal suite. The numbers of servants, followers, and attendants of the nobles, and even of the sovereigns, are so diminished by the more prudent spirit of the times, and more expensive charge of servants and equipages, that the chateau looks like an empty barrack.

Domestic architecture, the dwelling of the middle and lower class man, is of more importance than the palaces of the great nobility of a country. The country people of Denmark and the duchies are well lodged. The material is brick. The roofing is of thatch in the country, and of tiles in the towns. Slate is unknown. The dwelling apartments are always floored with wood. I have described in a

former Note the great hall in which all the cattle and crops and waggons are housed, and into which the dwelling apartments open. The accommodations outside of the meanest cottage, the yard, garden, and offices, approach more to the dwellings of the English than of the Scotch people of the same class. In the country towns, even of considerable population, the houses are not doubled up in rows or streets behind each other, but are generally built on each side of one long street, with garden ground behind belonging to each house. In Copenhagen, however, the houses are as closely packed together as in other walled towns, but the streets are wider, and the open market places more numerous and spacious. The middle and lower classes are lodged, as in Edinburgh, in flats, or floors, each being a distinct dwelling, and with a common stair to the highest flat, and into which each dwelling opens. These are far from being so commodious as dwellings of the same kind are in Edinburgh. In some of the principal streets for business in Copenhagen, houses sell very high. In the Ostergade, which, as a shop-street, is equivalent to Princes Street, or George Street, of Edinburgh, a house of moderate frontage and three floors high is worth about four thousand pounds sterling, which is more than the same kind and size of house would sell for in Edinburgh, in any situation. The highest class, the ministers of state, heads of the naval, military, and financial departments, and a few rich individuals, nobles, and merchants, occupy entire houses like the hotels of the French nobility in former days, with a porte cochere opening into a court, and the mansions built on the sides of the open square. Few of these appear to be now occupied by the same class

as that which built them. No well-appointed equipages, horses, servants, in the streets, no wares of splendour and luxury, in the shops, indicate a wealthy class of nobility and gentry living in a style of expense suitable to the occupants of such mansions. The great and fashionable people may be at their country seats at this season, with their servants, equipages, and horses, but the tradesmen and shopkeepers, who live by supplying what the tastes and habits of a wealthy and luxurious class require, appear to be very few. The stocks of goods in the shops are of articles adapted to the demands of customers of the middle class, and of ordinary incomes. The hereditary nobility and gentry of Denmark, so powerful and opulent before the revolution of 1660, appear to have been gradually sinking in importance ever since, and are now not to be recognised as a class in the social body. The individual nobleman may rise to power and influence in the state, by individual merit or court favour, but he owes nothing to his class, or its social influence. The autocratic and the republican *régime* is equally adverse to the power of an aristocracy in the government. Men from the middle and lower classes have raised themselves by their talents to the highest positions in the state in Denmark as frequently as in England, since the revolutions in the two countries of 1660 and 1688; and the constitutional government stands behind the despotic in throwing aside all class-favouritism or family influence, and appointing the most able, without regard to birth, fortune, or party, to the highest state offices. In the eye of the despot, birth, fortune, or party support are of as little value as in the eye of the red republican.

The natural decay, under an autocratic government, of the influence of an hereditary nobility, as a class-power different from, or elevated above any of the other subjects, has raised up a kind of personal plebeian nobility in Denmark, not founded on birth, family connexion, or fortune, but simply on conventional title or rank. Every other man you meet with is a counsellor of war, counsellor of commerce, counsellor of justice, counsellor of something or other. These distinctions are all classified, the wives and daughters are all my-ladied, and addressed as Fru or Fröken, and take precedence according to the title of the head of the family. These titles appear to be of about the same importance as Esquire or Gentleman with us, in writing to or speaking of persons above the lowest class in social position; but here these titles are paid for not only when the patent to use them is issued, but a tax is paid yearly for the title according to the class of this kind of nobility to which the title belongs. These titles have become so common that they have ceased to be distinctions, and are rather ridiculed than respected.

There is great equality in social intercourse in this country of absolute monarchy, and it seems not to be condescension merely on one side, and grateful respect for being noticed at all, on the other; but a feeling of independence and mutual respect between individuals of the most different stations and classes. This may be accounted for from wealth not being so all important as in our social state; its influence in society is less where the majority are merely occupied in living agreeably on what they have, without motive or desire to have more.

CHAP. XXI.

DIFFERENT RESULTS OF EDUCATION IN DENMARK AND IN GERMANY. — CAUSES OF THE DIFFERENCE. — FREEDOM OF EDUCATION IN DENMARK. — EDUCATION CONNECTED WITH RELIGION. — TEACHERS NOT UNDER THE UNIVERSITY. — PUBLISHING TRADE ON A SOUNDER FOOTING THAN IN GERMANY. — ENGLAND AND DENMARK. — OPPOSITE SOCIAL POLITY. — LIBERTY ESTABLISHED BY OUR REVOLUTION OF 1688. — AUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT BY THE DANISH OF 1660. — WHICH COUNTRY HAS ADVANCED MOST IN CIVILISATION? — ADMINISTRATION OF LAW BETTER IN DENMARK. — COURTS OF ARBITRATION. — REVISION OF INFERIOR COURTS BY THE SUPERIOR COURTS. — MISSIONS TO CONVERT THE HEATHEN. — ABOLITION OF THE PUNISHMENT OF DEATH. — PROGRESS OF DENMARK AND ENGLAND COMPARED. — POWER OF PUBLIC OPINION ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS. — PARLIAMENTS ON THE CONTINENT.

WHY have the results of national education been so different in Denmark and Germany? In Denmark the general diffusion of education has been the foundation of civil liberty, of the influence of public opinion upon public affairs, and of a loyalty and good understanding between the governed and the governing, an unanimity of feeling between them which few governments can boast of. In Germany the diffusion of education has certainly not diffused civil or political liberty, given weight or value to public opinion in public affairs, or promoted the religion, morality, industry, independent spirit, self-government, and well-being of the people. It has merely reared a numerous body of over-educated idlers expecting to be supported at the public expense in superfluous offices, and filled with fantastic theories and schemes of social polity. It has drilled this numerous body of teachers and taught into a regular corps acting with

a common tendency and spirit, led by a hierarchy of professors and philosophers, and seducing and betraying, as it suits their own views, the deluded multitude which they alone have the privilege to educate. The causes of this different development of the universal diffusion of education among the people in Denmark and in Germany may be these:—

The Danish Government was the first in Europe which furnished the means of education to the people on a liberal scale, established school-houses in every parish with suitable dwellings and incomes for the teachers, opened normal schools for teaching schoolmasters the art of teaching, and required high qualifications and a special course of education for the duties, from candidates for schoolmasterships; but here the Danish Government wisely stopped. It did not attempt, as the Prussian and other German Governments have done, to force education upon the people, to take the education of the children out of the hands of their parents, and compel by law their attendance at primary national schools in which instruction is given gratis, or at a nominal charge, without reference to the wishes, social position, or requirements of their family. In Denmark, as in Scotland, parents are free to educate their children as they please, and according to their circumstances and prospects; and any one who pleases is free to keep a school. Government has furnished schools and schoolmasters, but has given no monopoly of education to them, or created a privileged class of teachers connected together as a corporation. The children in Denmark, as in Scotland, see and understand betimes from their parents what can or cannot be afforded from the necessary income or means of

the family for enabling them to follow any profession or way of living requiring a higher education than that of the parish or private school, and requiring a continued course of expensive attendance for some years at an university. The boy of fourteen, in Germany, is guided by his schoolmaster, who in educational matters stands in the place of the parent, by the state regulations, without any knowledge of the parent's means or social position, and who tells him,—"You are a lad of talent, a good scholar, and an honour to our school; insist on going to the University, where you can subsist, as others do, by teaching the less forward students, and, sooner or later, something will turn up to give you a living in the Church, the law, or the public service, or perhaps in the University itself as a distinguished professor." In Denmark, as in Scotland, the boy of fourteen listens to his father and mother, who say,—"You know with what difficulty we have kept you at school, sparing every penny to pay your school-fees, and buy your books and paper. You have now got some education, and your brothers and sisters require the same, and you are old enough now to learn a trade, and are clever enough to be some day a first-rate tradesman." The enforced and gratuitous educational system of the Continent misleads children and parents, and rears a dangerous class of idle students and expectants on office, over-educated for the mechanical trades and occupations, over-refined for the dull and unintellectual business of ordinary life, without employment or prospect but in schemes of political agitation, and who, if rightly educated, would have been in their proper social places behind the counter or in the workshop.

In Denmark, the state only provided the means of education — schools and schoolmasters in each parish — but had no occasion to force education upon the people. It is the glory and main strength of the pure Lutheran Church, that she alone, of all Protestant Churches, enforces the use of the means of education, and connects herself with it by the religious usages and feelings of the people. In former Notes, and in a volume of observations during a residence in Norway, I have explained the great importance attached by the people, in all Lutheran countries, to the rite of confirmation by the bishop or dean (probst). It is not only considered as a religious, but also as a civil act, and one of the greatest importance to the individual in every station, from the highest to the lowest. It is the proof of having attained majority in years, and competency for offices, duties, and legal acts. The certificate of confirmation is required in all engagements, as regularly as a certificate of character from the last employer. In the Church of England, confirmation is an idle, or rightly considered, an impious ceremony, by which a bishop receives, as true children of the Christian Church, a crowd of young persons of whom he knows nothing, whom he has not examined and proved to be well-instructed Christians, and whom he solemnly presents, as worthy servants of Christ, upon a knowledge and testimony of their qualifications so imperfect, that he would not take servants into his own family of whom he knew so little, and about whom he had inquired so little. In the Lutheran countries, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the rite of confirmation is very different. There is a long previous educational preparation, often of six or even twelve months,

in which each individual is instructed by the parish minister. He is answerable, and his professional character is at stake, that each individual whom he presents for examination to the bishop or dean can read, understands the Scriptures, the catechism, the prayer-book, according to the means and opportunities of the parents to give, and the capacity of the young person to receive, education. The examination by the bishop, or dean, is strict; and to be turned back from ignorance would be a serious loss of character, affecting the material interests both of the clergyman who had brought forward the young person unprepared, and to the parents of the young person, whose state of minority is prolonged, and who, unless he is confirmed, can find no employer. In those purely Lutheran countries there is very little dissent from the established Church, in consequence, perhaps, of the educational preparation given to each individual for this rite, and of the importance attached to it; and the few dissenters, Menonites or Herrenhuters, or Moravians, live together, in general, in distinct colonies, or towns, and are not scattered through the population. The individual not passing through the education preparatory to confirmation would stand alone in his neighbourhood without employment or countenance from any other body of his own persuasion. One evil attends this strict examination preparatory to receiving confirmation. It unquestionably promotes, or rather enforces indirectly, the education of the youth by the interests of the parents, the youth himself, and the minister, and by the immediate advantage it presents of enabling the young person to enter into his future trade or profession as a man who has attained majority; but it is

too liable to be considered as taking a final degree in religion and religious knowledge. Taking a degree in medical, legal, or theological science is very often the ultimate effort of the students, that at which they stand still all their lives. This is observable in the state of religion, in Lutheran countries. The mind may be saturated too early with the knowledge required for attaining a certain end, and the end being attained, the knowledge is thrown aside, or perhaps only remembered and referred to with disgust.

Another cause is the great simplicity of law and its administration in Denmark by the code of Christian V., by the distinct knowledge which every man has of his rights, and by that greatest of modern improvements on the social state of the people, the administration of equity by the courts of arbitration, or mutual agreement. The swarms of half-educated law practitioners who live and fatten by encouraging and ministering to the animosities, bad feelings, and passions of the ignorant, in thousands of unnecessary lawsuits, are here cut off entirely. No living is to be gained by this class of village law-agents. Real legal questions are settled by real lawyers, and all the small disputes about property by the courts of mutual agreement, in which law-agents for the litigant parties are not heard. A great source of employment for a class of law practitioners who abound in countries under the civil law and its forms of procedure, is dried up here, and employment and a living for an agitating, half-educated class working upon the public mind are not so readily found as in Germany, owing to this simplicity of law. The great strictness also of the University of Copenhagen in

examinations and in conferring degrees prevents the accumulation of the learned insects about its doors who buz about the university-towns in Germany. The professors are independent of the students, and in a large city containing the naval, military, and artillery academies of the kingdom, a *burschenschaft* in the German sense,—that is, a body of young men besotted in beer, tobacco, and low debauchery, awakening only to a kind of intellectual intoxication and fanaticism for imaginary objects, and supporting a body of professors and teachers older but not less demented than themselves,—cannot spring up as in the small university towns of Germany, such as Kiel, Gottingen, Jena, Heidelberg, and form an important influential class. There are no crumbs to be picked up by men of small sense about the Danish University. Another cause is that the trade of literature in Denmark is on a sounder and more wholesome footing than in Germany. The German publishers exchange cartloads of literary rubbish with each other at the Leipsic book-fairs. They have an elegant Exchange, built on purpose for their trade. It is, in reality, a stock-jobbing trade, as much as dealing in Poyaise bonds, or Madrid and Lisbon railway shares, or any other stock of no real value. The German bookseller will publish any thing, however low in literary merit, because his profit depends not on the merit and sale of the work, but upon the exchange he can make of so many copies of it for so many of a better work. If he give five or even ten copies of a work of very little literary merit, for one of a first-rate work, he may be no loser, and even the inferior work going round in the course of such exchanges through a vast reading public, may be sold in part,

and the unsold copies may, without much or even any loss to the ultimate holders, be consigned to the grocer's shop, or returned to the paper maker's vat, to be manufactured into another book. The good work sells or gives currency to the bad, and a vast number of persons make a living as authors, and publish a volume or two yearly, without more intellectual merit in their works than in those of the paper stainer whose productions adorn the walls of your parlour. They are brethren of the same craft. In the trade of both, one good piece of paper that suits the taste of the public—a paper for the drawing-room walls, or a book for the drawing-room table—pays for a multitude of bad. This system is ruinous to literature. It fills Germany with works the most crude and fantastic, which pander to any taste or speculation, however wild, that can obtain for them an exchangeable notoriety; it robs the author of real merit of his fair reward, for these parasitical productions exist, circulate, and sell or exchange at his expense; and it rears a numerous class of writers who earn a precarious living by authorship, and who, from want of talent, or judgment, or the check upon their works, of being profitless, or productive of loss to the publisher, seize upon the mystic and the unprincipled in fiction, religion, and morals, and find or make converts to every new speculation in philosophy or politics, however absurd. In Denmark, as in England, every work sells according to its own merits, and publishers could not afford to maintain such a class of literary paperstainers as exist in Germany, and fill the Leipsic book-fair with their exchangeable wares, and who are in reality "la classe dangereuse" in the social body of that country.

Another cause, and perhaps the main cause, of this different development and result of the diffusion of education in Denmark and in Germany, is a naturally different idiosyncrasy of the two peoples. If the differences of the colour of the hair, skin, and eyes, of the size of the body, or of the shape of the skull, are to be received as indications of a permanent and natural diversity of race, the intellectual differences, which are not less distinctly marked and obvious than the external and bodily, the differences of temperament, mental constitution and character, as shown in a long course of historical action and in energy, industry, practical good sense, religious and moral feeling, distinguishing different nations from each other in their past history and present condition, are not less permanent and natural. The Dane has less imagination, less tendency to enthusiasm, than the German, but has more good sense, more sound judgment and reflection. Much of the practical, energetic and good elements in the English or Scotch character is inherited from our Scandinavian, not from our German ancestors — at least now, in their posterity, the similarity in mind, as expressed in the modes of thinking and acting, is much greater between the English and Danish than between the English and German people.

The social polity of Denmark and England, the history of the people of the two countries, have been as different as their political economy. The social philosopher might well ask how two nations could arrive at nearly the same state of well-being and civilisation by roads so entirely opposite? In 1688, England had her Revolution, and established constitutional government. Twenty-eight years before,

in 1660, Denmark had her Revolution, and renounced constitutional government, establishing, by a solemn act of the diet, and by the concurrence of the representatives of the people in the diet, autocracy, or the will of the sovereign as the sole state power. It is for the historian to trace the causes of the two revolutions, so near each other in date, yet so widely different in spirit and tendency. The effects of the two systems of government, which, politically considered, are at opposite poles as social institutions, upon the well-being, material and intellectual condition, and comparative civilisation of the two nations, belong to the class of subjects which the traveller claims the right to observe and describe. It is very extraordinary, and contrary to all our natural prepossessions in favour of free, liberal institutions and constitutional government, and against despotic or irresponsible rule, that we cannot but admit that, during the 191 and the 163 years which have elapsed since these two revolutions of opposite natures, the people autocratically ruled have made much greater progress than the people constitutionally ruled, in many of the social reforms and arrangements which denote a high state of civilisation. Law and the law-courts in Denmark were reformed, rendered simple in process, and intelligible to the common man, by the Law-Book or Code of Christian V., drawn up by his chancellor Griffenfeld about 1673. The administration of law has received another great improvement in this century by the establishment of local courts of arbitration, or of mutual agreement. An arbitrator chosen by the people of the parish or district, for three years, not a lawyer or law-agent, confirmed by the government and paid

by a small fee on each case, hears and enters in his protocol the *viva voce* statements of each party without the intervention of any legal advisers. This is the lowest court, or court of first instance, and no case can go past it to a higher court without being entered here, and no facts can be adduced in the higher courts which do not stand in the protocol of the court of arbitration. The duty of the arbitrator is to reconcile the parties, to propose an equitable adjustment of their differences, and, if he succeeds, his decision is carried to the higher district court to be ratified and revised as to points of law, or to interests of third parties, if any are involved in it, and is final without other expense, or employment of law-agents of any kind. If the parties, from the nature or importance of the case, concur in bringing it before a higher court, it passes through this lower court, as a matter of course, to the courts in which law-agents and advocates are heard for the parties, but no new facts or statements are admitted but those which are entered in the protocol of the court of arbitration. If one of the parties chooses to appeal from, and the other acquiesces in the decision of the arbitrator, the appealing party pays the expenses of both in the higher courts. The expenses of law-agents and fees of counsel are determined in each case by the judges who decide it. A certain time is allowed to each court, from the lowest to the highest, within which the decision on a case must be given, unless, at the request of the litigants, or by special permission of the superior court, a longer period is allowed for the judge to consider the case. The usual period is six weeks. The amount of cases finally decided by the courts of arbitration is very

great, and the appeals are almost confined to cases of the highest importance, and in which the interpretation of the law may be doubtful or obscure. This great improvement in the administration of law has reduced the numbers of attorneys and law-agents, who lived by exciting the peasantry and working people to take the law of each other, without reducing the number necessary for the business of the country, or impeding the access of the people to justice. It has gradually spread to Sweden, and some parts of Germany, and is unquestionably the most important improvement of modern times in the social condition of the people of Europe. Did this improvement arise, or has it even been adopted, or imitated, or even examined, in our constitutionally governed England? The Liberal must blush to acknowledge, that it is a step in the progress of society, a great step from the barbarous institutions of the middle ages, which autocratically governed Denmark has been the first to take. A few other countries are imperfectly and tardily adopting this improvement in the administration of cheap law and equity. England stands still, and with the most perfect machinery for making law, has the most imperfect machinery for administering law. The same law courts, the same machinery, which existed in 1688, continue, without alteration or improvement, to administer law in 1851. Reform has been confined to the machinery of our legislature, while that for administering law, although of far more importance to the well-being of the great mass of the community, has been neglected.

One great improvement also in the administration of law in this country is, that the superior courts

are not merely courts of appeal from the inferior courts, but are courts of superintendence over them. The judge in the lower court has to keep a protocol of his daily proceedings, which is revised, weekly or monthly, by the superior court; undue delay or expense in the cases, and the reasons for coming to the decision pronounced, or to be pronounced, must be explained and accounted for to the higher court; and this higher court is itself under similar superintendence, in its discharge of this duty, by a supreme court. The vexatious delays, mistakes, and erroneous judgments occasioned by quirks of the lawyers, or wrong views of the court, are effectually checked by this system of superintendence and revision, without the expense to the parties of an appeal; and law is thus administered to the people with the greatest economy and dispatch. Law is also purely administered. It is the glory of Denmark, that no party-spirit, no bias for or against the crown in cases in which the crown is a party, can be imputed to the Danish courts of law. They are practically a liberal and independent power in a theoretical despotism.

The Danish government does, on a liberal scale, what our government is often blamed by literary and scientific men for not doing — it not only bestows liberal pensions on eminent literary men and distinguished artists, but sends out young men of promise to travel at the public expense for three or four years, and men of science and artists, to accomplish themselves abroad in their several studies. Baggesen, Oehlenschläger, Thorwaldsen, Niebuhr, Malte Brun, and many others, the ornaments of their country, received this assistance at their outset

in life from the Danish government, and a few have repaid this obligation with the basest ingratitude in the late insurrection. Nor have the fine arts alone been patronised by this government. Riber, Ström, and Castberg were sent, in the reign of Christian VII. to examine and report upon the foreign systems of education, long before France and Prussia sent their philosophers on a similar mission; and, in the same reign, the physicians, Saxtorf, Tode, Abelgard, and Callisen, travelled at the public expense, to examine the state of medical science; and Professors Olufsen and Begtrup, to report upon the state of agriculture in foreign countries. The eminent scholars and antiquaries, Thomasen and Worsaae, have recently visited Sweden, and the remote parts of Scotland, to examine the vestiges of their Scandinavian ancestors. Our government, more wisely in the opinion of some, leaves those researches to the private enterprise of individuals or societies; but the Dane may be proud of the enlightened expenditure of his government, and the Englishman the most opposed to the misapplication of the public money may regret that men of talents, who have enriched their country by discoveries in science, have not been rewarded, or even noticed, by the British government. Professor Oersted, the discoverer of magnetic and electric communications, lives in ease and honour, in Denmark; and, in the same generation, Winsor, the inventor of gas-lighting, and Symington, the real inventor of steam navigation, died in poverty and neglect in England; and the very name of the first projector of railways is forgotten and unknown. Of the three greatest writers of genuine

comedy who have appeared in the world — Plautus, Moliere, and Holberg — one was a Danish subject, encouraged, patronised, and honoured by the Danish people and their government. He amassed a large fortune by the sale of his works, purchased an estate, and was ennobled, and created a baron, by the Danish government, much about the time when, with us, Otway died of hunger in his garret, and Savage perished with cold in the streets, and just about a hundred years before the British government showed, for the first time, some public appreciation of literary merit by conferring the paltry dignity of baronet upon Sir Walter Scott.

Missions to convert the heathen were first sent out by Denmark above a century before any of our missionary enterprises. "Our pilgrim fathers," as the Americans affectedly call the earliest British settlers who, about the middle of the 17th century, fled from religious persecutions at home, were, in sober truth, pious bucaneers, who came to America to shoot the natives, and seize their land, not to convert and civilise them. Paul Egede, the father of all Christian missions, Krantz, Kemp, Schwartz, and many other missionaries, were sent by Denmark to Greenland, Africa, and India, to spread Christianity, civilisation, and the useful arts, about a hundred years before England had done laughing at such missionary efforts in India, and, at last, began to find them worthy of imitation.

The abolition of the punishment of death, in all cases, was proclaimed in Denmark in the beginning of this century, while England was still hanging three or four petty offenders of a morning, for the edification or amusement of the people. Denmark

has quelled an insurrection and defeated the rebel army, although assisted by her faithless ally Prussia, in one of the most bloody battles of the age, by the science of her educated officers, and the courage and loyalty of her troops. But while France, Prussia, Austria, are condemning to death, or chains, hundreds of individuals on the bare suspicion of being concerned in imaginary conspiracies got up by the police, and imposed upon the credulous and weak governments, in Denmark no blood has been shed on the scaffold, and no political offender has been committed to prison, in consequence of this rebellion. The traitors and rebels have been simply deprived of the power of being traitors and rebels again, and have been dismissed to the punishment of ignominy in public opinion, and of their consciousness of merited degradation.

If Diogenes had lived in our times, he might have laughed or railed at the inconsistencies of modern nations,— at the most constitutional government in Europe — that which other nations desire to imitate, but want the materials to do so — that in which civil, political, and religious liberty, freedom of the press, trial by jury, and a representation of the people in the legislature, are realities, — standing very far behind the most autocratical government in Europe — that in which the kingly power was made absolute and supreme, by a solemn act of the nation, in very many of those landmarks by which the comparative progress of nations in civilisation and moral and intellectual culture is measured — in the administration of law; in the abolition of the punishment of death, and of imprisonment for debt beyond a fixed period; in the responsibility of inferior courts

of law to superior courts for wrong decisions, undue delay, or expense to suitors; in the education of the people; in the advancement of Christianity abroad; in the encouragement of science, literature, and the fine arts at home; and, if the rebellion of 1745 in Scotland be compared with the rebellion in 1848 in Sleswick and Holstein, in firmness, and confidence of the government in the attachment of the people in adversity, and in clemency and moderation of the government in prosperity. What are we to conclude?—that despotic government, a king and cabinet without check or responsibility, is a better kind of government for the true well-being of a nation, than a limited monarchy, with responsible ministers, and representatives of the people in parliament assembled? By no means. The true conclusion to come to is, that a government, constitutional in theory and in its construction, may become a mere arena for political parties, such as Whigs and Tories, and for classes of interest, such as the landed, the commercial, the manufacturing, the clerical interests, the conservatives, the free traders, to struggle in for ascendency and power; and all reforms or improvements in existing establishments may be opposed, however urgent they may be, by existing class-interests or party-considerations. An enlightened autocratic government may be a much more effectively good government for the governed, for the million, than such a constitutional government; and such has been the constitutional government of England since 1688. Parliaments, public meetings, the voice of the press, are but organs for expressing the opinion and will of the community in its own affairs. If these organs forget their proper place and vocation,

and, as in France and Germany, in the movements of the last four years, constitute themselves into the leaders, framers, and directors, instead of the organs merely of public opinion, assuming their own opinions formed in their bureaux or studies to be the expression of the desires and wants of the public, the government is considerably worse, less consequent in its measures, and less liberal than that of a pure and simple autocracy in which education, and its social influence, which among an educated people pervades and gives one direction to every atom of the social body from the highest to the lowest, make the autocratic ruler and his cabinet the machinery for executing the public will, rather than a state power in opposition to it. Class-interests, the power of the nobility and clergy, were broken in Denmark by the revolution of 1660, conferring unlimited absolute power on the crown. It was, in fact, a democratic movement, and has proved so in its results. It placed the king and his cabinet at the head of the people, as their sole organ, in opposition to the nobility and clergy, who endeavoured in their diet, or parliament, to perpetuate their own power in the legislature; and, with it, the oppression they exercised in their local jurisdictions on the class of peasantry. The tendency of this autocratic government has, ever since the revolution of 1660, been liberal, or even democratic. The code of laws drawn up by the Chancellor Griffenfeld, himself a man of the people, the son of a wine merchant, is so clear, simple, and concise, being all contained in one small volume, is so well adapted to the intelligence of the common man, and so impartial and liberal withal, in the equal protection of property and

liberty to all classes, that Norway retains to this day, with the most democratic constitution of government in Europe, the same law, and administration of law, for the protection of person and property, that she lived under when a province of the absolute monarchy of Denmark,—the most absolute, theoretically, of European monarchies,—and requires no change to adapt them to her new social and political condition. The gradual emancipation of the labouring serfs, the curtailment and restrictions of local hereditary jurisdiction to a mere police or country magistracy, the education of the people, the elevation of men of merit from the body of the people to the highest offices and dignities, show that the tendency of the autocratic government of Denmark has generally been to raise up, protect, and favour the democratic or popular element as its main support. The cabinet councillors or ministers, yield, as with us, to the force of public opinion on public affairs, and adopt or renounce measures, and retire, or retain place, with the same sensitive regard to their own consistency of principle and character, in their political conduct. In Prussia, in Austria, in the minor States, such as Hesse and Hanover, with nominal constitutions, the will of the sovereign is the only law which the statesman respects. The German mind is so perfectly imbued with this military principle of government, that the most enlightened ministers could not act, or the people be ruled, upon any other. Denmark, from the general education of the people, has got beyond this lowest step in the progress of modern society. The solidarity of a people means — if the phrase has any meaning at all, which is somewhat doubtful, — the weight of the

opinion of a people on their governing power, the solid weight which no class-interest of nobility, clergy, landlords, traders, or party leaders holding the political power of the state as a family property, can withstand. This solidarity, the people of Denmark possess. Public opinion is expressed as clearly and effectively as in England, and with less misrepresentation, or misleading of the public mind by party newspapers, itinerant lecturers, or corn-law association machinery for exciting blind agitation. So effective is the influence of public opinion on public measures, in Denmark, from the general education giving the same reasonable views and powers of judging rightly to the highest and the lowest, to the sovereign and his ministers, and to the body of the people, that the recent constitution of popularly elected assemblies of representatives, to be the organs of public opinion, appears not to be required by the people themselves. Many are of opinion that the Danish parliament of the new constitution will expire from its want of use or interest in a social state in which public opinion is already predominant, and has no antagonistic power on the throne, or in the cabinet, or in any class in the country, to combat and overcome. People will not take the trouble to elect, or be elected; and, in their social state, a parliament of adventurer-representatives, like the Frankfort parliament, or the French chamber of Deputies — might be a dangerous nuisance.

It is too true that the composition of these two parliaments, and their political acts, while they existed, have put back to future generations the hopes and confidence of all reflecting men in a useful

and effective representation of the German or French people in any parliamentary shape. The structure and spirit of society on the Continent are adverse to the formation, or at least to the right working, of such legislative assemblies. The want of classes possessed of independent means of living, and having common objects and interests with the people and with each other; the superfluity of classes living upon the people, and with separate objects and interests, each individual seeking office or notoriety as a representative in order to obtain office, and in reality with no stake or interest in the country to represent, will always prevent any strong and influential body of independent honest members being found in these continental parliaments or diets. The elements in society are wanting. Commercial and manufacturing industry has not been long enough in activity and prosperity to raise up in Germany or France a class of persons like our wealthy private gentlemen, landowners, capitalists, descendants generally of successful merchants or manufacturers of a former generation, who are independent of government favour or functionary employment for themselves or their friends. The very payment of twenty-five francs a day to the continental member of parliament is a satire upon the interests he represents and his share in them. He is but a paid agitator seeking office, not an independent man with a large stake in the country, representing the property and interests of his constituents for the honour of the social position, and the opportunity of being useful in it, not for five-and-twenty francs a day. They were crows and magpies, not eagles, who nestled in the Paulus Kirche of Frankfort, and in the Chamber of Deputies at Paris; and it was a vulture, not an

eagle, who pounced upon, devoured, or dispersed the French brood, and silenced their cawings on the banks of the Seine. If the ferocity of this bird of ill fame is to find any palliation or excuse in the page of history, it will be that he, at least, cleared France of a class to whom a false system of national education had given great social power, which, although individually men of the highest talents and attainments in philosophy and literature, they were incapable of wielding for any practical benefit to society; and whether Legitimists, Orleanists, or Socialists, could neither govern nor be governed, and existed in speculations, intrigues, revolutions, and anarchy.

The similarity of character and spirit in the Danish and English people has produced a remar[illegible] larity of social and political re[illegible] and forms of governmen[illegible] opposite theoretical prin[illegible] same stock which produ[illegible] under the most differen[illegible]

not like the claims of the Prussians, Saxons, Bavarians, or other Germans, to be considered the original stock of the Anglo Saxon race, founded upon the merely physical circumstances of a similar colour of hair, eyes, complexion, and a similar structure of the head and body, but upon the psychological circumstances of a similar character, constitution of mind, and social action, which can no more be obliterated than the external bodily similarity between cognate nations, and which are as distinct and as universal.

If the above notes should induce some philosophic traveller to examine more carefully the social differences, yet remarkable social similarity, between the two nations, in mind and character; and should they [illegible] draw closer together the ties by which the [illegible] rally and politically connected, [illegible] tained.


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